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NOVEMBER 3, 1964

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

REPORT ON NOV. 3

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In This Issue . . .

➔ we feature a special section on the campaign, introduced on page 953. . . . Professor **John W. F. Dulles** of the University of Texas explores a recent activity of the Goulart Lobby—the American left-ideologues who gave aid and comfort to ex-President Goulart of Brazil and who continue to nourish the legend of Goulart the Friend of the Brazilian people. Mr. Dulles, son of the late Secretary of State, is a historian, and specialist in Latin American affairs. . . . Mr. **James Sites** addresses himself to the problem of the American railroads. He is a non-featherbedding official of the Association of American Railroads who recently toured the world to study the transportation policies of foreign governments. His views, abbreviated here, are set down fully in his book, *Quest for Crisis*. . . . Messrs. **John Roots** and **Basil Entwistle** rise to a spirited defense of the Moral Re-Armament group against the recent criticisms of Russell Kirk (*NR*, Sept. 22).

➔ **Wm. Buckley** discusses the case of Walter Jenkins and the issues it legitimately raises. . . . **Cato,** by the way, gives interesting background information on the Jenkins affair. . . . **James Burnham** analyzes the removal of Khrushchev and reminds us that there is as yet unestablished any concept of legitimacy in the matter of Soviet succession. . . . **Anthony Lejeune,** writing from London, discusses the dilemma of Harold Wilson, who must rule with the scantiest majority ever. A sensitive ear can overhear, Mr. Lejeune discreetly reveals, a sigh of relief in Conservative England that it should be They, not Us, who have to rule under the circumstances. . . . **Russell Kirk** rages against the look-say reading method, which has done more to damage the reading ability of a generation of Americans than all the television sets and comic books put together.

➔ **Frank Meyer** reviews an ambitious and successful overview of history by Mr. Lawrence R. Brown. *The Might of the West* has shortcomings, in Mr. Meyer's judgment, but is a remarkable achievement. . . . **Guy Davenport,** professor at the University of Kentucky, reviews, as usual, three novels. The latest by Iris Murdoch and Saul Bellow, and the earliest by Nabokov, only now translated. . . . **William Rusher** reviews ecstatically the book *Cities*, by James Morris: an invitation to visit, and come to know, 74 of the world's great cities. Mr. Rusher was evidently so moved by the book, he promptly left on a round-the-world trip during which he will see many of those 74 cities. His objective is Taipei where, on November 17, the Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League will meet. Mr. Rusher will represent American anti-Communist groups. . . . Mr. **Stanton Evans** of the *Indianapolis News* reviews the three prodigious sellers of the day, the books by Phyllis Schlafly, John Stormer, and J. Evetts Haley. . . . And Mr. **Nathan Cohen,** the gifted Canadian theater critic, remarks the rise of the funny girl on Broadway. ➔

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To the Editor

The Vile Campaign

My husband and I and our Republican friends wish to thank you very much indeed for the fine "Campaign Reflections by a Family Magazine" [Oct. 6], which was an answer for all time to the editorial in the *Saturday Evening Post.*

Laramie, Wyo. MRS. OLIVER B. KNIGHT

Thanks for your piece on the vicious *Saturday Evening Post* editorial on Goldwater. It has no parallel. For several years we had been aware of the frenetic tone of the articles as well as the editorials but this one is a classic of hate, extremism, recklessness and distortion if not pure libel.

Newport, Wash. MRS. JAMES H. TRENEMAN

Funny Coincidence Department:

Life, December 13, 1954, on Senator McCarthy: "A stray, a wild man, an unprincipled and ruthless jujitsu artist."

SatEvePost, September 19, 1964, on Senator Goldwater: "A wild man, a stray, an unprincipled and ruthless political jujitsu artist."

Shouldn't they copyright their smears?

Swarthmore, Pa. WILLIAM D. RUBINSTEIN

I wish to applaud, and thank you.

Grantham, N.H. REV. HOLLIS M. FRENCH

Dear NATIONAL REVIEW, esteemed and trusted,
Enclosed is check that leaves me kinda busted.
But winter winds will find me warm as toast—
For fuel I plan to use the *SatEvePost.*
Resolved to be more thorough and methodical,
I'll concentrate upon *your* periodical.

Cedaredge, Colo. WINIFRED CASTLE SCHMIDT

The October 6 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW is so good that I bought several copies to give to friends. The editorial on "The Vile Campaign" is a shining example of literary merit, logic, and confutation.

Evanston, Ill. MRS. EVANS S. SCHMELING

Participles, Metaphors, etc.

I appreciated your careful scrutinization of the *Saturday Evening Post*'s

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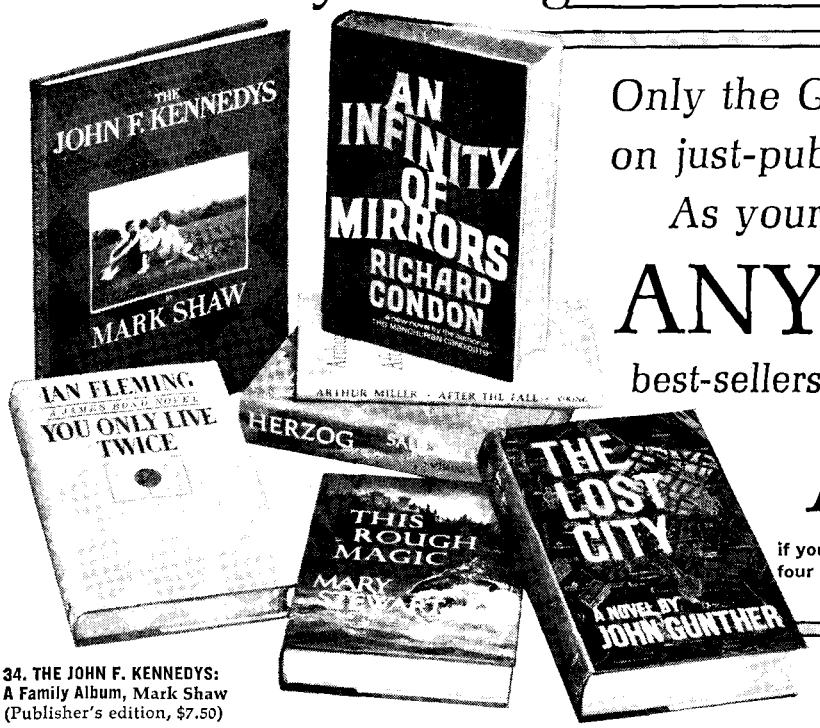

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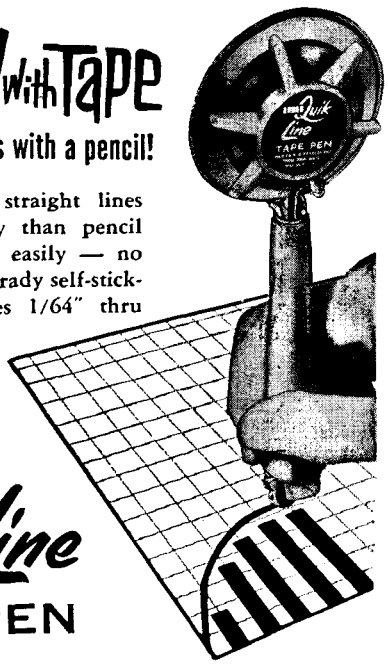

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grammatical errors in the Oct. 6 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. However, since you used these grammatical errors to point out the intellectual disarray of Mr. Goldwater's critics, I feel it important to display the intellectual aptitude of NATIONAL REVIEW's competent writers, as the staunch supporters of Mr. Goldwater. Therefore, glaring grammatical errors as printed on page 859 of the Sean O'Casey obituary should be watched for, corrected, and thereby denied to the searching eyes of your critics. I am referring to line 3 of the article, in which "got" was used as the past participle of "get." When using "has" or "have" with "get" in the past time, one is to say "has gotten," or "have gotten," since "gotten" is the past participle of "get."

San Francisco, Calif. MRS. DANIEL R. LANN

Sorry to disagree. Please see Fowler, p. 217, or Evans, p. 202. —ED.

What does it mean to say that the Anti-Defamation League "seeks to encourage a national march towards a sort of creeping socialism" [Oct. 6]? In the words of the *New Yorker*, that would be the best trick of the week.

New York, N.Y. KENNETH STERN

For the Record

Just for the record, I live and teach in Abington, Pennsylvania, not New Jersey ["In this Issue," Oct. 6]. As an old Jersey City boy, I was happy to see my name linked with my native state, but 'taint so.

Roslyn, Pa. WILLIAM F. GAVIN

In the editorial on Sen. Thurmond in the October 6 issue it is stated that South Carolina had not been represented in the U.S. Senate by a Republican since 1872.

The correct date is March 1879, when Gen. Wade Hampton replaced the Republican incumbent.

Columbia, S.C. JOHN T. HARLLEE

Just Friends

George Fielding Eliot in his review of Robert Murphy's *Diplomat Among Warriors* [Sept. 22] throws a laser beam on a peculiar deficiency of the American diplomatic mind that may well account for a good share of our retreats these past twenty years. Eliot recounts Murphy's dismay when Am-

(Continued on p. 985)

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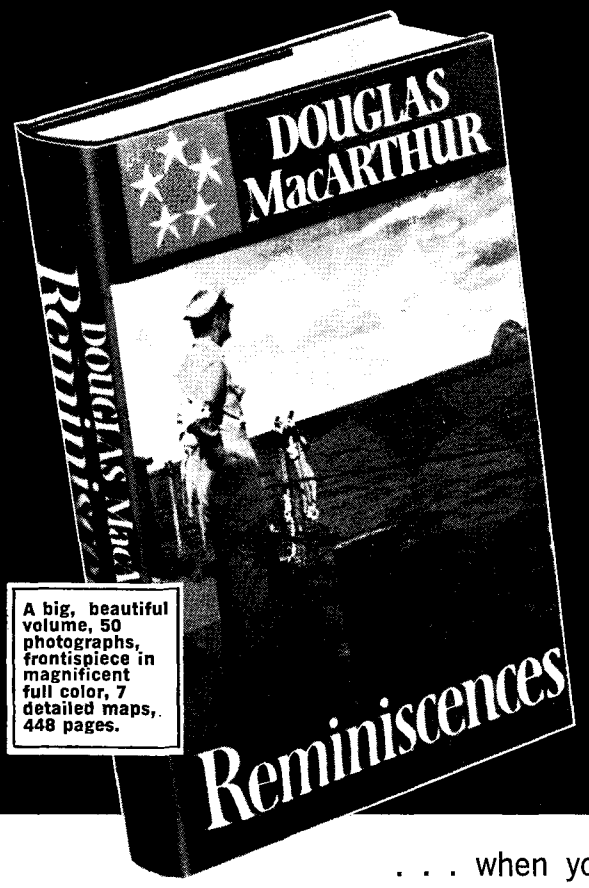

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The WEEK

● Couldn't Have Put It Better Ourselves Department. LBJ to the crowd in Denver, Oct. 12: "You take care of me in November and I'll take care of you for the next four years."

● Gov. Rockefeller's fiscal finagling doesn't come cheap. By converting New York State debt into rental obligations to independent agencies whose debts are not technically state obligations, Rocky has increased the long-term tax load by about $90 million. And his unsound financing ideas have led Dun & Bradstreet (last month) and Moody's rating service (last week) to drop New York State obligations to a notch below their former prime rating. The drop in rating will tend to raise the state's borrowing costs in the open market. The difference between state and federal situations couldn't be clearer. As governor, Rocky has to face the consequences of his folly.

● Organized labor is getting the squeeze put on in a big way. The bosses have decided that Goldwater's the man to beat, and to that end they plan to spend up to $14 million in "registration drives" and campaign contributions—funds that will float up "voluntarily" from the rank and file, in response to the gentle hints of the shop stewards. In some cases the union bosses are circulating Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative*—an act of brinkmanship on their part, which may lead to astonishing progress in political education.

● Commenting on the flight of the Voskhod, with its three-man crew, Senator Goldwater expressed the apprehension that has been spreading through our military command since the decision, early in John F. Kennedy's Administration, to abandon the drive for ascendance in "inner space": "Near space, the area in which orbital flight takes place, is the key to the military use of space. The nation that commands near space could, after developing proper weapons and maneuverable spacecraft, dominate the earth."

● The article by Mr. James Sites (p. 971) brings to mind a recent letter from Mr. Hyman Sadoff of Portland, Oregon, whose experiences with the Interstate Commerce Commission, while applying unsuccessfully for permission to perform over-the-road transportation services, have led him to conclude that "the motor trucking division of the industry, probably, is more damaged by the autocratic rulings of the ICC than the rail division." But no matter which division suffers more, the ultimate victim is the consumer, whose living costs are needlessly swelled on account of institutionalized rigidities in the national transportation network. President Kennedy asked Judge Landis to study the problem. The Judge came up with assorted good and bad proposals, horrifickest of which was the scheme to set up a new superbureaucracy to coordinate the bureaucracies. Transportation, the most thoroughly regulated industry, is also the most thoroughly messed up. Which should suggest something to any government that doesn't think the public be damned.

● President de Gaulle had two ideas in mind when he set out on his grueling 20,000-mile South American trip: 1) to needle Uncle Sam; 2) to prove to his own people and perhaps even to himself that he was physically able to run for a second seven-year term as President of France. He was only partially successful in either. Not all—in fact very few—of the Latin American leaders showed any inclination to play rat to his Pied Piper. And although de Gaulle made every stop on the itinerary he had to drop a few of the more arduous receptions; he was unable to sustain his usual habit of giving every speech from memory; when aboard the French cruiser which picked him up twice during the month-long trip, he rested in complete seclusion. Like all good Frenchmen he suffered periodic *mal de foie.*

● Red China was the first kid in the bloc to get one. But now Indonesia, having paused only long enough to wire congratulations to Red China on its nuclear test shot, put into operation its first, very own nuclear reactor, which it purchased in the U.S., which gave Indonesia the money to buy the reactor with.

● Sweet Are the Uses of Adversity, said Tshombe to himself said he as, lately sprung from that calaboose in Cairo, he swept, radiant, past the cheering masses of his countrymen, 250,000 of whom had turned out—not to abuse him—but to acclaim him in the roaringest hero's welcome home Léopoldville had ever seen. Nasser's nastiness had indeed struck home; in all good Congolese hearts memories still rankle of the Arab slave trade, and the rankling that went on a couple of days later at the King Baudouin Stadium was something to behold. There in the vastness a scene was set—thatched huts, smoking campfires, spearcarriers carrying their spears—just a nice average Congolese town of eighty years ago. Suddenly into this idyll there burst the enemy. They wore white robes and red fezzes. They burned the huts. They beat the villagers. Bang-bang went their guns. Buzz-buzz went the audience, pretty mad by that time. And then (tantara!), just as the (snarl) dirty-arabs were leading their captives (sob) away—

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comes the Grand Army of the Congo Free State, a splendid horde in white-face, all pith helmets and swagger sticks and Spirit of 1885. Was there ever a rout. Boomlay boom went Léopoldville, happy again, and happiest at having its very own Tshombe back to put on such a show. In order that the word may go forth: We shall not be removed.

● Suppose a newspaper runs this "correction" notice: "In the . . . election statement [of] October 11, one statement was distorted by a typographical error. The statement should read, 'Goldwater is no more conservative than Hitler was.' " Supposing that, might not one wonder how the *distorted* version read? As it happens, it read: "Goldwater is more conservative than Hitler was"—and no error like *that* is going to get through the *Worker* uncorrected.

● And should one still wonder whose side in the election the Communist Party is taking, its above-quoted statement goes on to reinforce its point (dig the chronology): "Goldwater is mobilizing the dregs of the nation, the racists North and South, the KKK, the John Birch Society, the atomaniacs, the McCarthyites, the union-busters, to turn the clock back, not to the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries, as some say, but much further back, to THE DARK AGES OF HITLER GERMANY. Then, Hitler rallied the scum of Germany, the stormtroopers of the 'Master Race,' the anti-Semites, the warmongers, and smashed democracy, brutalized the nation, turned the Nazi war machine on the world."

● The magazine *Fact* is what a New York louse named Ginzburg does, now that the courts sentenced him to however-many years imprisonment it was for violating the minimal (and they are truly minimal nowadays) laws of decency and obscenity, in his magazine *Eros,* the final number of which featured pictures of interracial coupling. Ginzburg is appealing, of course, and meanwhile has started up a thing called *Fact,* which took some 20 great big display ads in newspapers, under the heading, "Is Barry Goldwater psychologically fit to be President of the United States?" ("1,846 psychiatrists answer this question in the next issue of *Fact* Magazine. . . .") The expense involved in buying back pages of the *New York Times* for that kind of thing cannot possibly be justified in terms of any likely increase in circulation for Ginzburg's stercoricolous journal; thus suggesting that Ginzburg is using political money and, in keeping company with some of the more unscrupulous enemies of Senator Goldwater, has finally found people fit to associate with.

● There once was a union maid who never was afraid, but those docile creatures who make up the ILGWU (International Ladies Garment Workers Union) aren't likely to have heard of her. Or so it seems, judging by the alacrity with which so many of them took advantage of the union's kind offer to bus them, free of charge, to Madison Square Garden the night LBJ spoke there. And coughed up two-buck "donations" to the party of the union's choice.

● A top-hatted American capitalist, smoking gun in hand, sits on the body of an Algerian worker. That's one poster. Next door, there's another illustrating life in Korea: in the North, girls dancing; in the South, police clubbing students. Down the street, a grim Uncle Sam holds a pistol pointed at the passer-by. Across the square, an exhibit of North Korea's "victorious struggle for freedom" against the Yankee imperialists. And so on, all over Ben Bella's Algiers: heady potion for a people one-fourth of whom have been fed for the last two years by America.

● The most chilling curse of the month was invoked by a Californian irked at the steady needling of Senator Goldwater by *Punch*: "Should there be the tragedy of a Goldwater defeat in our election," he wrote, "may all the powers that be cause one Harold Wilson to win yours and give you what you so dearly deserve. And may all your Mods and Rockers multiply and your relief rolls swell."

● Question: When a Liberal Catholic lies dying, does he receive moderate unction?

Operation Eagle Eye

New York's Honest Ballot Association comes up with an astounding figure. In the forthcoming election, it predicts, at least 2.5 million votes will be either illegally cast, or invalidated. Consider this datum in the light of the fact that a few thousand votes, strategically deployed, would have turned the country over to Mr. Nixon in 1960. And in the light of the well-known fact that Daddybird desires a thundering majority.

The reason why vote-stealing occurs on a massive scale is that appeals against it tend to be heard by judges who owe their offices to the exuberance of precisely the men who are hauled up before them to receive punishment. In Chicago in 1960 no less than 662 election officials were accused of irregularities. Charges against them were quickly dismissed after only a small part of the available evidence had been heard. Dismissed by a judge who, what-do-you-know, was precisely the same gentleman who had in the first instance certified the accused election officials to serve as such.

We welcome, under the circumstances, Operation

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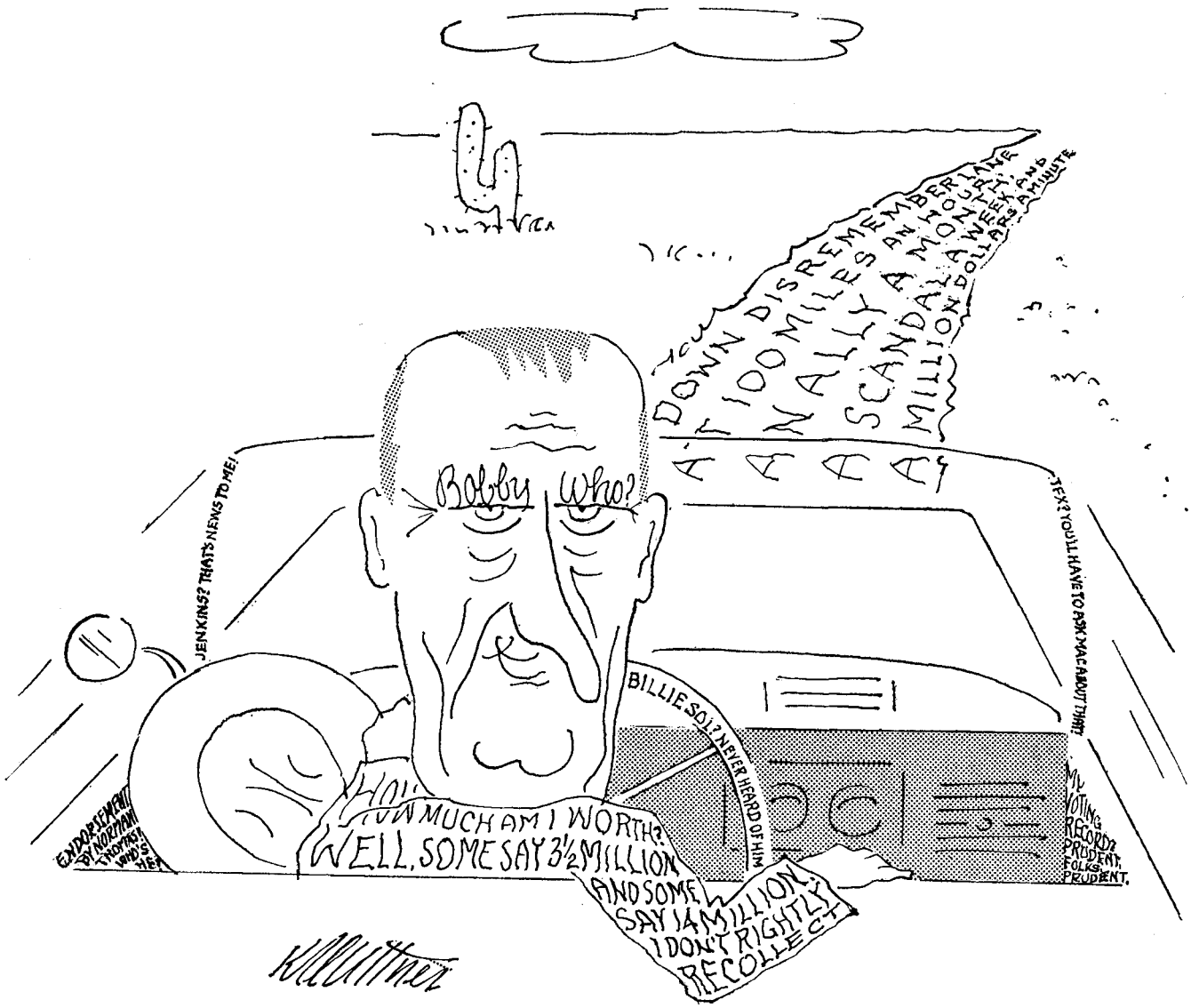
Eagle Eye. The idea is to post watchers, carefully briefed in the techniques of political larceny, at critical polling places. They will know, for instance, how important it is to examine the reading on the dial of a voting machine in order to make sure it is registered at zero when the poll opens; how important it is to count the number of people who vote, and compare this figure with the number that the machine officially disgorges at the end of the day; how to make certain that every voter is properly registered. Recent abuses are in these and many other categories. A favorite trick is to ascertain the names of people who had registered to vote, but since then died, or moved away from the district. Impostors are then lined up who will appear, give the names of the dead and departed, and cast their votes for them. That particular abuse can only be prevented by checking registration lists against live residents in advance of election day. There are any number of elaborations. Our all-time favorite is the recent case in Texas where 232 voters who had moved away from the area or died, mysteriously appeared on election day and moreover were so obliging as to come in and vote in exact alphabetical order!

Operation Eagle Eye intends to set up in many of the major cities "flying squads" whose duty will be to respond instantly to complaints of irregularities. They will swoop down on the crooked voting booth with a lawyer, a photographer and, where possible, a policeman. The aim is to try to make the laws stick this time, and be prepared to stash away enough people in jail to weaken the morale of those who believe that democracy is essentially a contest between the innocent and the worldly.

Eagle Eye is greatly in need of volunteers. Contact



"Remember, folks, any charges made against me in this campaign, especially real mean ones, are the Irresponsible Acts of Desperate Men!"

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Operation Eagle Eye, 211 West Wacker Drive, Chicago. Remember that a few hours' service eagle-eyeing the voting booths might serve the cause better than weeks of proselyting before election day.

Peking Joins the Club

The A-bomb exploded by the Chinese Communists in Sinkiang's Taklamankan desert had, they say, a force of about 15 kilotons of TNT—a mere firecracker on the nuclear scale. But it is imprudent to dismiss the Chinese bomb, on that account, quite so soothingly as did both Presidential candidates, with their predictions that an operative Chinese nuclear capability is still a good many years in the future. Political effect is not a simple derivative of physical power. There are already signs that the shock waves from that crude nuclear incident in the remote wastelands of central Asia are going to strain, perhaps topple, political structures clear round the world.

Has Peking blasted its way into the United Nations? It may quite possibly turn out so. The sentimental and appeasement-minded tell us that brute displays of power offend world opinion; but, offended or not, much of world opinion moves quickly to conciliate power in practice. Several of the smaller nations, heretofore aligned with the U.S. in opposing Peking's UN entry, have hinted that they may switch at the forthcoming General Assembly session.

And if Peking is in the UN, can Washington withhold recognition? Theoretically, it could, but it would become most awkward—to recognize Peking's UN delegation but not the government that named it.

The knowledge that this bomb was ready to go may have given the final pressure to the political trigger that shot Khrushchev out of office. With Khrushchev in charge, Moscow had no chance to rearrange its shattered relations with a now nuclear China. And what of the test ban treaty, now that Red China as well as France is testing? Peking's bomb certifies its membership in the nuclear club, and what good is a nuclear treaty that doesn't include all club members? Will the treaty now be reopened, with representatives of Paris and Peking sitting at the high table? The pull thereto will be strong, as Peking's first statement on the bomb, with its call for a new international agreement to stop every kind of test and destroy all existing nuclear weapons, foreshadowed.

Will the Sinkiang bomb blow the United States out of Southeast Asia? That was evidently Sukarno's judgment, prompting him—who had so often condemned the nuclear arsenal of the West—to hail Peking's "historic achievement." The mounting élan spread among the Vietnamese Communists by the bomb's political fallout could be sensed in the dispatches. The bomb proves that Peking is serious about its strategic goals: "Better Bombs than Bread!" the Chinese Communists are saying. More and more, Southeast Asians have come to doubt that Washington is serious. Pondering the meaning of the Sinkiang explosion, they will not be reassured when our President promises, in commenting on the new bomb: "We will pursue with dedication . . . our purpose of achieving concrete practical steps on the road that leads away from nuclear armaments and war, and toward a world of cooperation, development and peace." Disarmament can be unilateral if we want it that way; but there are no such things as unilateral cooperation and peace.

The Responsibles

A month ago—on September 22, to be exact—newspapers throughout the country announced formation of a national committee to combat the Ultra Right. The UPI wire story, reproduced from coast to coast, began with the following two sentences. "A Committee of 80 national leaders, including former Cabinet members, governors, union chiefs, educators, and scientists, have banded together to 'expose and correct' the activities of what the committee called twelve John Birch Society 'front' organizations, it was announced Tuesday. The organization of the Council for Civic Responsibility was announced by its chairman, Dr. Arthur Larson, former director of the U. S. Information Agency. Larson said the Council will . . ." etc. etc.

Now if you read that story, what would you think? Exactly. So did we, so did everybody—and so did Mr. Clarence Manion, who immediately shot off a letter to Arthur Larson demanding to know by what stretch of the imagination he considered the Manion Forum and the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, two of the twelve organizations listed in the news story, as "fronts" of the John Birch Society? Mr. Manion, former dean of the law school at Notre Dame, is to be sure a member of the national council of the John Birch Society. But he founded the Manion Forum years before the John Birch Society was founded, and became legal counsel for the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee again years before the John Birch Society was founded. How could they conceivably be said to be "fronts" for the John Birch Society?

Mr. Manion wrote on September the 29th. Two weeks later he had had no answer. Having received a copy of Mr. Manion's letter to Mr. Larson we decided to have a go at trying to get an answer ourselves. Accordingly, we wired him: "Please reply Western Union collect whether in the light of letter

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Focus on NOV. 3

◆ "The most vicious, dangerous undercover political campaign in Texas history has been launched against John Connally. The architect of the diabolical plan is the left-wing radical ADA and their cohorts who stand for everything Texas doesn't. And the plan is being carried out with fanatic dedication by an elite corps of henchmen sent into Texas to direct this attack." Governor John Connally of Texas said all that on statewide television, May 23, 1962. The Texas GOP is saturating the state with copies of this statement, emphasizing that Hubert ADA Humphrey, who has Connally's support, is only a heartbeat from the top. The authoritative *Houston Chronicle* gave Goldwater 44 per cent on October 11.

◆ Don't believe what you read about the papers in the papers. Recent wire stories reported that the "traditionally Republican" Vermont papers, the *Rutland Herald, Barre-Montpelier Times-Argus,* and *Brattleboro Reformer,* had come out for Johnson. The first two, under the influence of one Robert Mitchell, have long been Crusading Liberal. The third is edited by John Hooper, who has connived in Democratic maneuvers at the gubernatorial (Philip Hoff) and congressional (William Meyer) levels.

◆ In past years the *New York Daily News* poll has been very accurate. This year, with 10,000 straw ballots counted, the poll shows Johnson swamping Goldwater in New York State by 76 per cent to 24 per cent. But the "silent vote" is excluded, and it is big: says the *News,* "Veteran crew managers, some of whom have been polling New York for 20 years, report that the number of those refusing to mark ballots is running well ahead of other years. . . ." In some areas the "undecided" vote is thought to reach 40 per cent.

◆ Word from Down East has it that Sen. Margaret Chase Smith has been running an adroit and effective speaking campaign in behalf of Goldwater and Miller. Word from hither and yon puts Gov. William Scranton in top position for the Party Faithful Award, thanks to his campaigning for the whole ticket, even to the point of naming the names of the candidates. Gov. George Romney is being considered for the Party Poop prize; and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller bids fair to retire the Lord Fauntleroy Cup, having won it twice in the past. The 1964 New Horizons Citation goes to Richard Nixon, who has wowed 'em at Goldwater rallies around the country, and in doing so has laid claim to a political position he can call his own.

◆ Best home-made bumper sticker: HONESTY IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR EXPERIENCE.

◆ A week to go. The most authentic grass-roots movement in American political history has its first test at the polls. The results, deeply complicated by ticket-splitting, will require weeks of painstaking analysis. In broad outlines, Nov. 3 will show the Republican Party moving west, where the population is moving, and south, where the one-party system is collapsing.

◆ This column herewith turns in the unused portion of its typewriter ribbon and heads underground. Got a little caper in mind for '66. . . .

---

addressed to you by Dean Clarence Manion on September 29th you have withdrawn your charges to the effect that the Manion Forum of the Air and Citizens Foreign Aid Committee are quote fronts unquote for the John Birch Society. If you do not reply before Monday October 19 we shall assume that you withdraw the charge and regret having made it falsely."

On Monday October 19 we received, collect, the following telegram from Mr. Larson: "In reply to your telegram of October 15, 1964, please be informed that I have never charged that the Manion Forum of the Air and the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee are quote fronts unquote for the John Birch Society. I have pointed out the existence of quote links unquote between these organizations. For present purposes it should be sufficient to note that Manion is on the Birch National Council, is vice chairman of the Citizens Aid Committee and of course is the central figure in the Forum. Incidentally, may I point out the remarkable technique you have used to construct an imaginary story involving supposed utterances and retractions by me entirely without my participation. First you put into my mouth the charge that two named organizations are Birch quote fronts unquote, a statement which I never made. Then you send me a telegram saying that if I remain silent, you will put into my mouth not only a retraction of something I never said, but even for good measure, regrets for having made it falsely."

Bear in mind, as you meditate on Mr. Larson's telegram, that this is the gentleman who heads the committee that is supposed to clear up political confusions. He tells us we construed an "imaginary story." Who does he think we are, the UPI? There was nothing at all "imaginary" about the wire story carried in hundreds of newspapers around the country. We didn't put anything at all in Mr. Larson's mouth, we merely reminded him of what the UPI, properly or improperly, had put there. Why didn't the gentleman, who is so scandalized by the distortions of the extreme Right, reply very simply that he had never made the statement about the

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"front" organizations, regretted that UPI had distorted him, and would issue a clarifying public statement?

We called UPI. Do you have on record, we said to Mr. Michael Finesilver in the manager's office, any communication from Dr. Larson correcting your story, or asking that you run a clarification? The files were searched. Nothing from Dr. Larson. Not even collect. Presumably Dr. Larson has been too busy, during the four weeks since the UPI carried the story, not answering Dean Manion, and composing morally rococo telegrams accusing NATIONAL REVIEW of putting words in his mouth.

The gentleman in question is, we remind you, chairman of the Council for Civil Responsibility—an Orwellian conjunction, to begin with. And the irony deepens as we reflect on the fact that the Council for Civic Responsibility is a quote front unquote for the Johnson Administration, and Arthur Larson is its principal patsy.

Left Feet Forward

Prime Minister Harold Wilson's appointments to his Cabinet and other high posts during his first week in office indicate that they were wise who took a dim view of a Labor Party victory. The party's Left will be solidly entrenched. The powerful left-wing trade union leader, Frank Cousins, has the new Cabinet office of Minister of Technology, with scientist-novelist C. P. Snow—who professes his indifference to the choice between the Soviet and American systems—his deputy. The fluent ideologist, R.H.S. Crossman, ardent advocate of a firmly socialist and internationalist (read, appeasement) course, is Minister of Housing and Local Government. The fanatically left-wing ("fiery," the journals usually call her) Barbara Castle is there as Minister of Overseas Development. As Secretary for Colonial Affairs, leftist Anthony Greenwood will be able to work with her to complete the last stages of the liquidation of the Empire. Anthony Wedgewood Benn, the reluctant peer whose distaste for the remains of the aristocracy prompted him, as Viscount Stansgate by the misfortune of birth, to lead the crusade that got the law changed to permit renunciation, will speed the mail on its way as Postmaster General. Of "the three Left Feet," one—Sir Hugh Foot—becomes Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and permanent representative to the UN; brother Dingle will be Solicitor General; and Michael, editor of the *Tribune*, organ of the Labor Party's left wing, will be on hand in Parliament.

The only silver in this lining is the tiny margin of the Labor majority, giving hope that the Wilson government will fall before it really gets started.

Voices of Moderation

President Lyndon B. Johnson, in New Orleans: "By a thumb on a button, you can wipe out 300 million lives in a matter of moments. And this is no time and no hour and no day to be rattling your rockets around or clicking your heels like a storm trooper . . . Whose thumb do you want edging up that way?"

1964 Nobel Prize-winner Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., in Atlanta: Should Sen. Goldwater be elected, he would take the nation "down a dangerous, dark, fascistic path."

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO: The "hopes and values" of working men and women "can vanish if political power should fall into the hands of union-hating extremists, racial bigots, or woolly-minded seekers after visions of times long past."

News item in the *Pittsburgh Press*: "GOLDWATER FOE FEARS FASCIST RULE. Election of Sen. Barry Goldwater could pave the way for a fascist take-over of America, Philadelphia industrialist Milton J. Shapp fears. . . ."

News item (AP): "The chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission [John R. Harllee] was quoted as saying today that election of Senator Barry Goldwater would mean that 'the American merchant marine probably would be sunk.' "

The Spockery of Dr. Quack

"And the tensions of the Cold War, if allowed to continue, will increasingly distort our children's outlook on life and impair their ability to cope with it."

—Benjamin Spock, M.D., Co-chairman,
Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy

I do not love thee, Dr. Spock.
The thing is this: I've got a block
Against the sort of seedy hat tricks
You're sneaking into pediatrics.
Let a mother ask you why
Her kid is nervous—*you* reply
She's stuffed the moppet's head with rot
About a Communistic plot
And if she only had a brain
She'd run right out and go in SANE.
Well, Mom, let me say beware
Of all this bogus baby care,
And don't let Benjy muddle you.
You know more than you think you do.

AC

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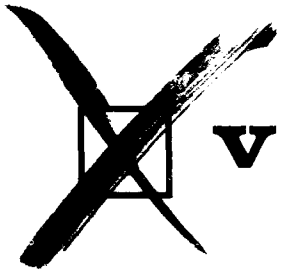

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

GOD ONLY KNOWS
—A Staff Report

Herbert Hoover, RIP

A tribute by his biographer and friend, Eugene Lyons

Herbert Hoover died before noon on Tuesday, October 20—at this writing, less than 24 hours ago. In those hours I have thought of little else. How does one sum up a life so rich and eventful, so dramatic in its contrasts of light and shadow, in a few paragraphs?

The words that come to mind, as one gropes for clues to his essence, are simple, homely words, the kind so rarely applied or applicable to outstanding public figures in our time that they have an almost archaic flavor. Herbert Hoover was *gentle* and *kind, honest* and *modest* and *shy*. He shrank from applause and demonstrations. He was capable of great angers, against injustice and corruption and brutality, but not of malice against people. There was so little hate in his make-up that the monumental slanders to which he was subjected left him more puzzled and incredulous than bitter. When he talked of those who had carried on a long, utterly irrational vendetta against him, one sensed in his tone a tinge of pity for them.

There is another strange thing as one seeks to appraise Hoover; having talked about it to some of his closest friends through the years, I know I am not alone in this feeling. Somehow his colossal accomplishments, the substance of his many careers, recede into the background. These are for the history books, the biographies. What obtrudes, overshadowing his deeds, is the man himself. The significance of Hoover's life is not primarily in what he did but in what he was. More and more his countrymen will judge him, as those who knew him most intimately always judged him, in moral rather than conventional political terms. They will think of him, millions do already, not as a President, however rated, but as a truly *good* man, whose compassion reached out to embrace all mankind.

Herbert Hoover had a great mind and immense erudition in many fields. He had unique powers of organization and command in vast enterprises, from global engineering to global relief. Beyond most men he knew the many faces of evil, in war, famine, catastrophes of every dimension. Yet there was about him a great simplicity, an almost childlike innocence. One token of it, I think, was in the fact that among those who knew him and loved him best, he inspired protective sentiments, an anxiety to shield him against the harshness of life.

That simplicity was manifest, too, in his ability to cut through complications to the heart of things, to elementary and elemental values. In a speech in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1951, for instance, he alluded to the obsession with novelty, with the New-This and the New-That. For himself, he said, he would recommend some "old" things: such "old virtues" as "religious faith . . . integrity and the whole truth . . . incorruptible service and honor in public office . . . economy in government, self-reliance, thrift and individual liberty . . . patriotism, real love of country and willingness to sacrifice for it."

Herbert Hoover had no talent for compromise where principles were concerned and therefore seemed stubborn and inflexible to lesser men. They could not understand his unwillingness, amounting to a physical inability, to buy votes and affection at bargain prices, by yielding just a little here and there to popular prejudice or political "realism." They could not understand his refusal to make deals and "do business" with what he regarded as evil. Out of bitter experience, he said at the peak of the Cold War, we have learned that the world today "is divided by opposing concepts of life. *One is good, the other is evil.*" No hair-splitting here, no dialectical quibbling, but a clear moral judgment. His innermost ethical commitments were his natural armor against the doubts, confusions and expediencies that have eroded the self-respect and paralyzed the will to survive of so many free men in facing up to the challenges of totalitarianism.

The most characteristic fact about Herbert Hoover was his unlimited love for children. Once I went through a great stack of pictures of Hoover. Many of them, especially in the earlier periods, showed him with that stolid, forbidding mien which was his unconscious shield against the world. But I quickly discovered that where he was photographed in the midst of children he was invariably relaxed, smiling, even gay. His inhibitions seemed to drop away when he talked or wrote to youngsters. Their sorrows moved him to unabashed tears. Along with his love and pity there was the engineer's concern for humanity's greatest resource: its new generations. He brought tremendous gifts to hundreds of millions of children on all continents, in bread and milk and new hope.

But the greatest gift of all is the example of his own life and character. Youth craves and needs heroes. We who are no longer young can honor his memory best by helping a new generation to understand the shining integrity, the moral greatness, of Herbert Hoover.

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Jenkins and the Public Concern

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

ON THE RIGHT

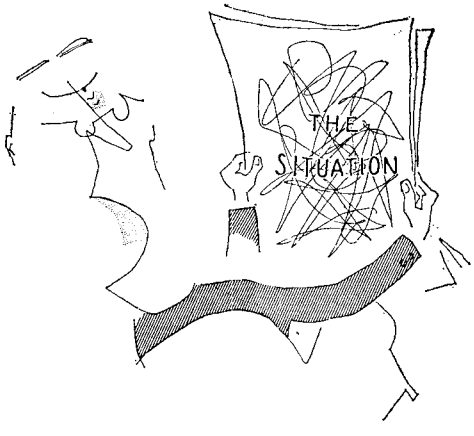
One would hope that an American election will not be decided on the basis of the aberrational sex life of an aide to the President of the United States. One can agree with this proposition, yet predict that it will be iterated and reiterated coast to coast day in and day out until November the 3rd. It becomes necessary instantly to focus on what bearing the Jenkins episode does have on the election, precisely so as to distinguish the legitimate from the illegitimate.

There are similarities between our scandal and that of the British a year or so ago. Mr. Profumo, Minister of War for the Macmillan government, patronized a lady of the streets, the whole thing blew up, and the government was rocked. But not, let us remind ourselves, because of the adulterous activities of Mr. Profumo: but because he had lied to his peers by assuring them, on one occasion, that he was blameless.

The public crisis involving the pathetic Mr. Jenkins hasn't to do with his own wretched frailty, but with a) the relationship between it and the public security, b) the tendency of Mr. Johnson and his closest aides to suppress information the public is entitled to have and c) the maladministration of the internal security.

A man who does the kind of thing Mr. Jenkins did is unstable. "Instability" is more than a catch-all cliché. It is a psychic disorder which can result in distorted visions of reality, and the incapacitation of the individual's ability to govern his life around the conventional hierarchy of loyalties. A man who for the sake of a moment's gratification will risk his future, the happiness and honor of a wife and six children, the career of the President of the United States, who is also his beloved friend and patron, is a man whose capacity for misjudgment causes chills of apprehension in every American who meditates on the kind of damage such a man, operating out of the very ganglion of Western strength in the White House, could do, when presented with temptation. The point is that Mr. Jenkins' nervous disorder, combined with his role in government, might very well have jeopardized the national security. We cannot proceed safely on the assumption that Mr. Jenkins has not damaged the national security. We must find out.

Which leads to the next question. Are there grounds for confidence that the Johnson Administration will reveal the truth? Unfortunately, precious few. There is the pervasive shadow of the Bobby Baker case. With a singular arrogance, Mr. Johnson has simply ignored the case, relying on his manifest power, and the demonstrated capacity of the public to tire of any one question, to simply stretch the business out to the point where it is all but forgotten. Mr. Johnson will probably have a more difficult time neutralizing the Jenkins case, but he certainly has lieutenants who are willing and eager to do so. We have seen how two of his most intimate friends, the lawyers Clark Clifford and Abe Fortas (see Cato), went to newspapers in Washington, D.C. to plead with their editors to suppress the news—news which it was clearly the business of a self-governing people to know. The political instinct for self-protection is very strong, and no doubt the lawyers' actions were almost a matter of reflex. But so also may it prove a matter of reflex in the President so to contrive the investigation of the Jenkins affair as to pacify us all, even if there are no grounds for serenity. We cannot, in other words, know how much damage, if any, Jenkins has done to the country: but neither can we have faith, judging from the previous performance of the President, that we will ever know.



"It's high time they stopped referring to the 'men around the President' and placed the blame where it actually belongs—on the men around the men around the President!"

And finally, of course, there is the continuing question of the internal security. President Johnson has said he did not know until this last occasion about the earlier occasion on which Mr. Jenkins was arrested, way back in 1959. How in the name of heaven can that be? Or to put it differently, assuming it is so, how in the name of heaven can Mr. Johnson defend existing security practices? Whoever was responsible for keeping the information from him is himself a security risk. What are the procedures that made this possible? Is the FBI implicated? Did Bobby Kennedy, as Attorney General, know about Jenkins, and if so why did he not whisper in Mr. Johnson's ear? If not before November 22 last, at least after that?

These are the questions of legitimate public concern. One hopes they will be kept clear, and that detractors of Mr. Johnson will not cloud the issue.

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From WASHINGTON Straight

Jenkins

► On October 14, at exactly 8:09 P.M. Washington time, United Press International broke the sensational Walter Jenkins story. The nation's press, released at last from pressures both moral and professional, leaped to spread the sordid tale of a broken man across the land.

The facts of the case were presented fully and concisely: Jenkins, an intimate of Lyndon Johnson in public and private life for 25 years, had been arrested October 7 on a morals charge in the basement of a YMCA building only a block from the White House. Police records showed that Jenkins had been arrested on a similar charge in the same YMCA on January 16, 1959.

Story of a Story

► One question frequently raised in the last few days has been: what happened between October 7, when Jenkins was arrested, and October 14, when the story was finally reported?

The most popular thesis is that newspapers in the Washington area were tipped off by the Republican National Committee. Some accounts have even construed the news break as some kind of Republican "plot." Not so. It is true that Republican officials heard of the arrest as early as October 9. Sen. John Williams (R., Del.), who figured prominently in the disclosure of Bobby Baker's extracurricular activities, has admitted that he heard of the Jenkins affair "over the weekend." Cato got wind of it on Sunday, October 11. A spokesman for the *Washington News*, the evening tabloid, says he was told of it by a member of the Metropolitan police force on Monday. And Washington's other evening paper, the *Star*, had the basic facts of the case by Tuesday, the 13th. Why, then, the delay? The *News* and the *Star*, both nominally Republican, have long labored in the shadow of the influential and aggressively Liberal morning *Post*, and have become increasingly cautious in breaking anti-Administration stories in this town where newsmen are dependent on "leaks" for hard, unmanaged news.

Further, friendly advice was available. At 10 A.M. Wednesday morning, "two Washington lawyers," Clark Clifford and Abe Fortas, conferred with Newbold Noyes, editor of the *Star*. They explained to Noyes that they were entering a plea on behalf of their mutual friend Jenkins to withhold the story until the full facts became known. They were not, they explained, attempting to suppress a story which might damage the Presidential candidacy of Lyndon Johnson; they were merely interceding on behalf of a "sick man" and his family. Noyes agreed to sit on the story. Clifford and Fortas then visited the *News*. Editor John O'Rourke also agreed. "If it was possible to withhold it we were willing to do so provided it didn't break anywhere else," he reported subsequently. He said that Clifford and Fortas had characterized their mission to him also as "humanitarian" rather than political.

All well and good except that LBJ has employed Clifford and Fortas on numerous political missions since the beginning of his Administration. Fortas, especially, is extremely close to Johnson. He is generally considered to be LBJ's choice for Attorney General after November 3. Neither the *News* nor the *Star* enjoys financial security; both are involved in important, potentially expensive litigation.

By late Wednesday afternoon, it would have been difficult to find a reporter here who had not heard of the Jenkins arrest. Yet the story did not break in the afternoon editions. The Associated Press then carried a report that Jenkins had been admitted to George Washington Hospital suffering from extreme exhaustion. Rumors spread quickly that Jenkins had attempted suicide. At 6:13 P.M. the UPI carried the text of a statement by Republican Chairman Dean Burch: "There is a report sweeping Washington that the White House is desperately trying to suppress a major news story affecting the national security." In other words, Burch was still unwilling to break the story himself. But he was informing the press: we know that you know! The pressure became intolerable, and at least one Midwestern paper let the word out that it would print the story. Then, at 8:09, the UPI wire report, and the story was out.

The Man

► Walter Jenkins, by universal acknowledgment, was the indispensable man at the White House; adviser, friend, devoted servant to Lyndon Johnson. He was well liked and respected by officials and reporters. Reporters admired him especially for the selfless way in which he assumed the role of scapegoat for President Johnson in the Bobby Baker case. Maryland insurance man Don Reynolds had testified before the Senate Rules Committee that Jenkins had suggested to him that he kick back part of his commission on the sale of a $100,000 life insurance policy on LBJ. Reynolds made the alleged kickback by purchasing advertising time on the Johnsons' Austin television station. Republicans on the Rules Committee demanded that Jenkins be called as a witness. But, presumably on orders from the top, chairman Everett Jordan (D., N.C.) declined and asked Jenkins for only an affidavit. Jenkins accepted the implicit blame.

Jenkins' capacity for work in this sleepless town was legendary. Recently, however, his face was flushed with high blood pressure; and, although LBJ is known for driving his assistants mercilessly, Jenkins was uncharacteristically intense. People who have seen him in the hospital say he is lost in despair, believing he has betrayed the man he served most of his adult life.

—CATO

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Special Report

Keeping Touch With the Goulart Lobby

JOHN W. F. DULLES

Within some circles in this country one continues to find a current favorable to ex-President Goulart, recently deposed by the Brazilian military. Consider, for instance, a volume recently published by Professor Irving Louis Horowitz, *Revolution in Brazil*. And consider it especially in the light of the perplexity many Brazilians are showing at what they feel to be our failure to appreciate the full significance of Goulart's overthrow.

Professor Horowitz concludes his study about Brazil by making an appeal in favor of some basic education in this country about "the realities of Latin America and Brazilian America." Indeed. But the knowledge of realities requires care and humility. Neither of these qualities is evident in this book.

Professor Horowitz writes (p. 87) that "during the Portuguese Empire period of 1822-31, Dom Pedro I, aided by his able Prime Minister, José Bonifácio de Andrade e Silva, successfully fought the economic and political institution of slavery." Inasmuch as Brazil achieved its independence from Portugal in 1822, Brazilians may resent that the American public is being taught that 1822-31 is a part of the "Portuguese Empire period." Pedro I broke with José Bonifácio de Andrada who resigned in July 1823 and so was in the picture only very little between 1822 and 1831. Moreover, Brazilians would surely question that Pedro I and José Bonifácio successfully fought slavery. And the misspelling of Andrada may not surprise Brazilians, but on the other hand, may not be insignificant.

The factual errors of the book are irritating, but they are not world shattering. Professor Horowitz has, after all, produced in five years five books on a wide range of subjects. The real question is whether there is anything useful about his statements as to what our attitude should be regarding Brazil's problems.

In brief Professor Horowitz regards the Goulart-Brizola line as the wave of Brazil's future, and he would have us cooperate with that line.

Among his conclusions is this one (p. 33): "The political consolidation of 'Jango' Goulart's government, the rise of his personal power, and his moves in the direction of vast agricultural reform provide the United States with an immense opportunity to make the Alliance for Progress live up to its pledged support for land redistribution."

Among other things, the Alliance calls for "the greatest possible price stability." Horowitz sees (p. 221) political good in the Brazilian inflation: it "reinforces support for the

Goulart

Goulart regime among the working classes," and this "tends to offset its negative economic features."

If we accept the professor's thesis, it follows that the United States should have exerted influence on Brazil to modify its constitution in order to allow land expropriation without prompt indemnification in cash. This was the Goulart program of "reform."

The "immense opportunity" of which the professor speaks was an opportunity to become involved in an internal political struggle in which "land redistribution" was not *per se* the important thing. This was appreciated by the crowd which the illegal "General Labor Command" furnished as an audience for Brizola and Goulart last March 13. It was appreciated by the larger crowd of *Paulistas* which soon after took up the challenge by rallying in opposition to Communism, Brizola and Goulart. For the United States to apply pressure for constitutional change in this matter would be to fly in the face of Brazilian political parties, the congressional majority, many of the state governors and a great part of Brazil's informed public.

Land Reform Ignored

What concerned Goulart and Brizola was overhauling the constitution for their own advantage. *Análise e Perspectiva Econômica* puts it this way: "A demonstration of Goulart's insincerity in regard to land reform is found in the fact that he continuously expanded his own land holdings in the last few years and that throughout his tenure of office he did nothing in the way of even elementary planning for land reform, such as mapping of critical areas of land pressure, establishing regional criteria for maximum size of plot, improving work contracts and crop-sharing arrangements, which could be done by executive decree, surveying landless labor and its regional location. . . . Furthermore, not only did the President never present a concrete plan for land reform, but he systematically vetoed, through the Labor Party's filibustering in Congress, the passage of moderate and workable bills for land reform. Thus it seems clear that the presidential interest was merely in arousing public excitement in favor of the idea of constitutional reform, which he hoped to extend to other constitutional fields, including the elimination of the clause forbidding a two-term presidency."

There is no doubt that during the Goulart years there was an emphasis on finding scapegoats. This was urgent for political reasons. Something —other than the government—had to be blamed for the suffering caused by government-created economic collapse. Brizola and others loved to speak of the "process of spoliation" inflicted on the Brazilian economy by United States firms. One has to accept

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that blaming foreign capital and the U. S. Government found an appeal in some segments of Brazilian society. One can use this fact as a thesis to why a revolution might be developed along the lines seen by Professor Horowitz.

But we would urge care before accepting the accusations as being fair. And we would hope that in asking for impartial and meaningful evidence we do not become classified as one of those whom the professor calls (p. 12) "crackpot warriors who want to send the Marines to Latin America at the least sign of a threat to American business interests." But it would have been useful to weigh carefully the pros and cons of United States private investment in Brazil, as it conducts itself today and as it contributes (or does not contribute) to bettering Brazil's economy; and we could do with fewer vague references to "imperialism."

Foreign Investors Accused

The professor, in discussing U. S. investment, should have explained that he was repeating, as of possible interest, thoughts such as those expressed by Brizola when haranguing crowds. But he does not do this. He himself roundly flails such investment. We learn that such investment, having done nothing for Brazilian living standards, can expect to be the victim of further expropriations, and we learn that it is a mistake for United States citizens to object to such expropriations. "American policy makers," he says (p. 399), "must cease playing deaf, dumb, and blind to the American manufacturers who sap Brazilian wealth."

The professor accepts Goulart's explanation that a part of this sapping is due to "excessive remittances," and from this he concludes (p. 213) that "at the foundation of the balance-of-payments crisis is the conduct of foreign corporations, not infrequently with the tacit support of foreign political agencies operating within Brazil." Horowitz seems to enjoy repeating this theme here and there.

To obtain any light on this subject readers will have to turn elsewhere. Ambassador Lincoln Gordon has explained that "even in the strict terms of the balance of payments, during the eight years from 1954 to 1961 foreign direct investment brought to Brazil 721 million dollars while profit remittances attained only 209 millions, less than the expenditures made by Brazilian tourists abroad. During the period 1946 and 1960, American investors in electrical, chemical and other industries in Brazil, have reinvested two-thirds of their profits remitting only one-third."

No serious study that we have seen supports the wild statements of Brizola and his associates. On the contrary, as Ambassador Gordon pointed out in January 1963, "for Brazil to cut off its access to these sources of modernization (foreign private investment) would be a tragic setback to the prospects of continued economic growth."

But Goulart, in pursuing his "revolutionary" program, did achieve such a tragic setback. Foreign investment stopped in 1963. There were expropriation threats and expropriations (one of these being that of private oil refineries owned by Brazilians). The "willingness to risk financial instability," of which Horowitz speaks (p. 221), was in full evidence. It was so evident that Brazilians, quite understandably, kept much money outside of Brazil. According to San Tiago Dantas they were keeping abroad 150 per cent of the largest possible amount that Brazil could hope to receive under the Alliance for Progress.

The result was that in 1963, for the first time in years, Brazil showed a per capita reduction in the gross national product. Not only slogans, but government actions, intensified poverty.

Professor Horowitz's observations about the Brazilian military provide a lesson in the dangers of explaining, without a great deal of knowledge, what is to be expected in Brazil. The points which the professor was making were being disproved when his book was going on sale. The reader learns of the firmly implanted military "radical wing," willing to join the Goulart-Horowitz revolution, or at least "smash the regular army" on its behalf. Horowitz considered it "certain" that divisions within the armed forces were real enough to assure no interference with the "Far Leftist" movement.

"The blind faith in and support of militarism as the basic tool of anti-Communism must be seen as a naive and dangerous fiction," he writes. But as things have worked out one wonders whether it is more naive to accept the statement that the military did serve as a basic tool of anti-Communism, than it is to accept the demagogic "curse" offered by the "Far Left" (or those who have posed as "Far Leftists").

A National Marxism

Many informed Brazilians would agree with Dr. Glycon de Paiva's appraisal of *Petrobrás,* the government-owned petroleum monopoly. *Petrobrás,* he found in his study, was a center of corruption and Communist infiltration. The appraisal of the Brazilian situation by Luiz Carlos Prestes, head of the Moscow-oriented wing of the Brazilian Communist Party, is of interest. He was enthusiastic, finding that the goals which interested International Communism seemed likely to be achieved under Goulart. A picture one gets is that of a small Communist minority working actively and unmolestedly within labor unions, student groups and even in the presidential palace. More popular than International Communism was a Brazilian National Marxism.

The situation was similar to that existing in 1935: before the Communist rebellion of that year, the Communists encouraged use of the *Aliança National Libertadora* as a force where nationalists of the Far Left, unconnected with International

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Communism, could push for the goals desired by the Communists. However, the situation in early 1964 was more serious because then the federal government itself, unlike that of 1935, was cooperating with Marxism and Communism.

Goulart felt the need of having the backing of such forces if he were to perpetuate himself in power in an atmosphere of public unrest. But in spite of the ways in which the federal government could influence labor unions, it was never possible for the Goulart government to demonstrate that it had throughout Brazil the popular strength it wanted people to believe it had. It was a government representing a minority of the electorate.

Role of the Military

Goulart's encouragement of "leftism" within the ranks of non-commissioned officers inevitably led to a situation which called for a showdown. It became a test as to whether Professor Horowitz's thesis about the military was valid.

Had the military been too divided to move (or unwilling to act "as the basic tool of anti-Communism"), it is hard to say who of the "Far Leftists" would have controlled whom. As it is, the step taken on March 31 by military leaders and important governors has earned them a vote of thanks. It ended a situation in which Brazilian Marxism, with Goulart's all-out help, was about to take Brazil down a road which would have been undemocratic, unpopular and harmful. One can visualize people standing in lines to get small food allotments, all in the name of the Goulart-Brizola "revolution" and all quite unnecessary in Brazil.

In passing we are reminded of Professor Horowitz's words (p. 205) about Goulart's interest in "developing a better system for bringing foodstuffs to the industrial markets." These words should interest careful Brazilian observers who have blamed Goulart's agents for the artificially created food shortages in metropolitan areas in July 1962. The Goulart administration was wanting agitation at the time and that it got: many were killed.

The new administration of Gen. Castelo Branco faces a hard road ahead. It has not been made easier by the slogans loudly proclaimed in recent years and sometimes echoed by writers in this country. What has been tragic is that many of these slogans helped create such a hopeless chaos that the slogans themselves began to seem like remedies to the desperate.

But the new administration has great assets. It has one of the ablest cabinets in many a year. It has got rid of large-scale corruption in top government circles. Within the leadership of the Goulart "revolution" special concern (and great aptitude) had been shown for making use of government banks for personal gain.

There can be no doubt that Brazil needs a period of prosperity and at the same time a widespread distribution of the fruits of that prosperity. The Castelo Branco administration deserves our warm support as it tries to achieve *both* of these important goals. The prospect of their achievement is brighter now than it ever was when Goulart and Brizola were pushing for the sort of "revolution" with which Professor Horowitz wanted to see the United States cooperate.

It is important, as the professor says, that we become in this country better informed about Brazil. But rather uninformed than misinformed.

A Plea to Dolly

JOHANNES EFF

Once upon a time there was a silly song-writer who told one Party he would sue it
If they used his tune at its convention although he gave the other Party permission
to go ahead and due it.
Now, it happened that there was a certain delegate at the Cow Palace with a penchant
For lawlessness (you have, I suppose, one at every convenchant)
And she said, "Tish,
I'll sing any lyrics to any tune I wish."
And to prove her point, she grabbed her state delegation's mike,
And, to the tune of "Hello Dolly," started singing Hello Spike;
And then she took one of those things that boatmen use to make their voices carry,
And for the life of her wouldn't stop singing Hello Barry.
Well, sir, the temporary chairman (fearing the Supreme Court) called for order from the floor,
And when the permanent chairman took over it was only to implore
This darling lady (she was really quite determined,
And to complicate the matter had a voice with the cutting edge of Ethel Mermined)
To kindly take her seat (and also act her age)
Which put her (she was only eighty) in a rage;
So she sang without cessation,
'Til Barry got the nomination.
Then all night long and all next day,
The little lady had her way
'Til Barry came and took command
And from the rostrum waved his hand
And smiled at her and called her (he knew her from a speaking engagement he had had at
Dry Gulch, New Mexico, three years before) Alice.
This made the other ladies jalice.
And then she stopped; actually her voice was a little sore.
The sheriff met her at the door.
And her defense in court, as she explained to me, was going to be that she was solly,
But what could she do when just thinking about Barry make her feel so immoderately jolly?

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The Third World War

Notes on the Khrushchev Ouster

JAMES BURNHAM

1) The tipoff that Khrushchev was on his way out came in August, when *Pravda* printed the political testament, critical of K., allegedly written by Palmiro Togliatti just before his death in the Crimea. Communist protocol does not permit that sort of free speech about No. 1, if No. 1 is firmly in the saddle.

Burnham

2) The circumstances of the ouster confirm the fact that Nikita Khrushchev had never been a supreme No. 1 in the sense that Stalin was. During the post-Stalin contests that polished off Beria, Malenkov, Molotov and Bulganin, the Party's Central Committee became the seat of power. K. was the Committee's man, a kind of Chairman of the Board. As occupant of the top posts in both Party (Secretary) and governmental hierarchy (Premier), K. was "chief executive officer" (as corporation reports put it), but dependent on the support of the Committee majority. One reason for the decision to get rid of him—hinted at in *Pravda*'s references to K.'s "commandism"—may have been a tendency on his part, common enough in chief executive officers, to act like his committee's boss instead of its representative.

Principle of Illegitimacy

3) The change in the Soviet government, though calm and bloodless so far, was a coup d'état. By what right does Aleksei Kosygin suddenly take the post of Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? No general election was held. There was no meeting of the Supreme Soviet. The entire process was secret and conspiratorial. A fraction of the Central Committee of *the Party,* after secret preparations that necessarily included an understanding with the military and KGB apparatus, won a majority in a secret Committee meeting. The change was put into effect with absolute tactical surprise. The ousted leader is held incommunicado; his relatives and those of his close associates who were not in on the plot are purged; his reputation is vilified. (Leonid Brezhnev, who replaces K. as Party leader, apostrophized K. on his 70th birthday only six months ago: "Your remarkable deeds have won you the respect and love of all our party, of all Soviet people. . . . This fills our heart with joy and pride for you, dear Nikita Sergeyevich.")

4) This episode demonstrates that the Communist regime in the Soviet Union is still *illegitimate*. It is illegitimate even by the rules of its own constitution. More generally, the government is not based on any "principle of legitimacy"—in Guglielmo Ferrero's phrase—which justifies it in the eyes of its subjects; it rules by power alone, open or implicit. It cannot appeal to an accepted formula of monarchy, aristocracy or democracy. Even after two full generations, the shift in leadership reveals that the de facto rule of a Party clique continues to be a conspiratorial usurpation. The contrast with the simultaneous shift in British rule, or the shift in U.S. rule last November under the extreme circumstances of assassination, illustrates the gulf between having and lacking a principle of legitimacy. The illegitimacy was symbolized, also, by the obvious indifference of the Soviet citizens—more exactly, subjects. Their indifference expressed the public's realization that they had no moral or spiritual link to the regime; that the regime is alien.

5) The regime's illegitimacy is a weakness which the loosened post-Stalin internal structure opens to exploitation. This fact is pointed up by the cautious but unprecedented criticisms made by spokesmen in Budapest, Warsaw, Prague and East Berlin of the Moscow decision and "the methods" used in carrying it out. Lurking half-expressed in their words was a challenge to the legitimacy of the Soviet Government—which they could scarcely follow up, however, without calling into parallel question the legitimacy of their own regimes.

The political response of the U.S. Government, in particular of the President (in his Oct. 18 TV address), to the Soviet shift was a disaster. Instead of seizing this spectacular chance to prove the illegitimacy of Communist rule, to declare solidarity with the subjects, not the rulers, of the Communist nations, and thereby to maximize the disintegrative effect of this episode, the President accepted the new regime without murmur and almost slavishly appealed for its collaboration in "the quest for peace."

Not That Way With LBJ

There is no reason to believe there was any single reason for K.'s downfall. Doubtless there was a combination of personal, bureaucratic, economic and international factors that had been building up while K.'s health and faculties ran down. The one that brought the combination to critical mass was probably K.'s increasing manifest failures in handling relations with the world's Communist parties. The world Communist movement is in bad shape; and for Communists, the movement has the Triple-A priority. Mao's jealous hatred of K. was not the least of the causes of the Sino-Soviet split. Getting rid of K. will not of itself patch the split, but it will perhaps reopen channels of negotiation. K.'s December conference can be quietly postponed. A caretaker Soviet Government permits a new attempt to find a suitable arrangement for world Communist cooperation under the changed conditions of the multi-nuclear equilibrium.

It would also permit a counter-campaign to increase the fissures within the Communist world, even to the point in some cases of breakaway. But that is a project not likely to come into being while the fingers of Harold Wilson and Lyndon Johnson are on the political trigger.

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SPECIAL SECTION

The Campaign . . . Some of the Issues . . . Extremism & the ADA

"We don't want the support of odd balls on the Left or the Right — either ADA or KKK."
Lyndon Baines Johnson, April 1960

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In This Supplement . . .

➔ **James Burnham** points up the relevancy of Hubert Humphrey's association with Americans for Democratic Action to the question whether he is equipped to serve as Vice President and in all probability as President. A year or so ago, Mr. Burnham made a study of the ADA, which was published in NATIONAL REVIEW. He draws heavily from this material and supplies additional data relating to Senator Humphrey's especially close association with the ADA. . . . What races are conservatives especially interested in? Mr. **Stanton Evans,** editor of the *Indianapolis News,* gives us a run-down.

➔ We publish here the results of an exhaustive survey that indicates how many times each Republican member of the last Congress voted in such a way as to contribute to a Democratic majority on measures of crucial importance. Your congressman is listed there.

➔ **Morrie Ryskind,** the Pulitzer-Prize-winning lyricist and an old friend of NATIONAL REVIEW, tells us what has been going on in California. . . . And **William von Dreele,** our chief versifier, takes us down to the line in the race for the Senate in New York State. . . . From **William Gavin** we have a questionnaire that will test your political I.Q. Pass it along to your friends. . . . And we present, with pride, a new cartoonist, Mr. **Mal Hancock.** Mr. Hancock is a young man who lives in Great Falls, Montana, and turned to drawing after being crippled from the waist down. His satire is sharp, but never desperate or self-pitying. ➔

A Coming ADA Government?

When millions of Americans pull the Democratic lever on Nov. 3, will they realize that they may be placing the ADA in the White House—and what that means?

JAMES BURNHAM

If the opinion polls are correct, the citizens of the United States are about to elect Hubert H. Humphrey as the next President of the United States. Of course, not many citizens understand it that way. Those who vote the Democratic national ticket will think of themselves as merely continuing Lyndon Johnson in office. But if there is a Democratic victory of anything like the proportions now indicated, the voters will also be naming Humphrey as Johnson's almost certain successor: either by the death of Johnson in office—which cannot be judged improbable—or as Johnson's chosen heir, with an almost unchallengeable claim to the post-Johnson nomination, backed as candidate by all the resources of a Mexicanized "government party."

Are Hubert Humphrey and a Humphrey government what the American people would really want, if they knew what they would be getting?

Hubert Humphrey is not just a practical politician, but an ideologue, guiding his political conduct by a definite set of ideas. For seventeen years he has been a loyal member of an organization embodying those ideas: *Americans for Democratic Action.* We can find out what Hubert Humphrey would be like as President, what the policy of a Humphrey Administration would be, by examining the history, policy and program of ADA. The ADA's policy and program *are* Humphrey's policy and program; his political history is part of the history of ADA.

Open and Proclaimed

To say that Hubert Humphrey is identified with ADA is not gossip, smear or innuendo. Although, like the Communist Party and the John Birch Society, the ADA does not disclose its general list of members, Humphrey's ADA membership is open and proclaimed. And Humphrey is not just an ordinary member who signed up and forgot about it, as a politician will. He was one of the small group that founded ADA in 1947. He has been a member continuously since then. He served for several years as ADA's National Chairman. Thereafter he became a Vice Chairman—an office he held until, after his nomination for the Vice Presidency in August, he resigned, as is customary when running for political office. (He did not, however, resign his ADA membership).

Professor Clifton Brock, an ADA member on the faculty of the University of North Carolina, has written the approved history of ADA (*Americans for Democratic Action,* Public Affairs Press; distributed in 1962 as an ADA Book Club selection). He calls Hubert Humphrey "ADA's leading political figure" (p. 24). In order to make his relation to ADA entirely clear, Humphrey addressed the U. S. Senate as follows, June 20, 1957: "So far as ADA is concerned, I too am one of its officers. I think it is no secret that on

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occasion this great organization has seen fit to chastise me, and perhaps properly so. Perhaps I did not understand why at the moment, but their judgment was undoubtedly better than mine."

In 1960 Hubert Humphrey was the preferred ADA candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination. (Ironically enough, Lyndon Johnson was the Democrat whom ADA most strongly opposed. ADA founder Joseph L. Rauh Jr. called John Kennedy's selection of Johnson as running mate "an absolute double cross of the ADA.") David Williams, a paid ADA official, was Humphrey's chief speech writer in 1960. After Humphrey's defeat by Kennedy in West Virginia, it was Rauh who persuaded Humphrey to pull out to protect his position "as a leader of American Liberalism."

When "ADA's leading political figure," if elected, gets to Washington in January as Vice President and Presidential heir, he will not find himself politically lonely. Throughout the executive apparatus, especially in the high and middle echelons, he will see prominent fellow ADAers occupying key posts. As samples: in the State Department—Under Secretary Averell Harriman and Assistant Secretary G. Mennen Williams, Ambassadors Thomas Finletter (NATO), James Loeb Jr. (Guinea), Chester Bowles (India), USIA Director Carl Rowan; in Health, Education and Welfare—Under Secretary Ivan Nestingen; in Agriculture—Secretary Orville Freeman and Under Secretary Charles Murphy; in Justice—Solicitor General Archibald Cox, government representative in the major civil rights cases; in Labor—Solicitor Charles Donahue; in NLRB—Chairman Frank McCullock; in FPC—Commissioner Howard Morgan, etc., etc.

The nomination of Hubert Humphrey thus places ADA in the center of the 1964 campaign. The real long-term issue is simply: do the American voters want ADA to run the country?

In order to answer, it makes sense to get some idea of what ADA is and what it stands for. We don't have to do any guessing about this. The answer is written down for anyone to verify in the ADA's own literature—its monthly journal *(ADA World)*, official programs, books and pamphlets— and in the activities and statements, over the years, of its leaders and officers.

A Political Club

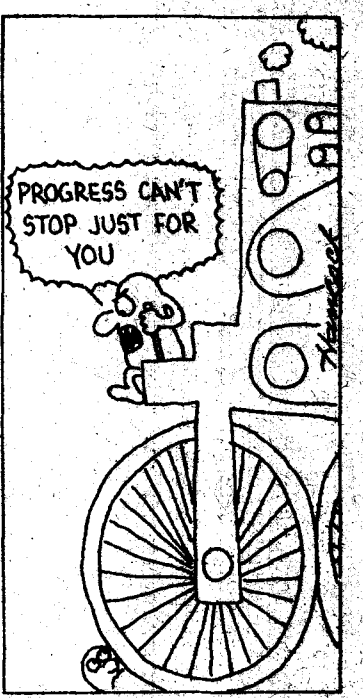
Americans for Democratic Action was born at a dinner on January 4, 1947, the offspring of an earlier organization called "Union for Democratic Action." In terms of theory and program, ADA is an *ideological tendency*. Its members are united by belief in a general *system of ideas* or dogma that guides their approach to practical problems. ADA does not have a monopoly on this ideological tendency. Many other Americans go along with it to one or another extent, though seldom so systematically. In France it is called *le progressisme*; in Italy, *il sinistrismo*; in England it is known simply as *"Leftism."* ADA usually calls it "Liberalism"; or, on occasion, "the non-Communist Left."

As an ideological tendency, ADA recalls the Fabian Society, founded in London in 1883 "for the reconstruction of society according to the highest moral principles"—which turned out to be a reformed version of socialism. However, the Fabian Society was never "activist." Its members stuck to talking and writing.

ADA stresses practical politics. In terms of organization ADA may be described as a *political club*. Like members of New York's Tammany, ADA members work actively in the precincts, in elections and registration drives, at conventions, etc. But Tammany and other political clubs familiar in our system are not "ideological"; they are practical and "pragmatic." ADA is closer to the clubs that appeared during the French Revolution, like the Jacobin Club led by Maximilien de Robespierre, whose members ultimately won full revolutionary power through control of the Committee for Public Safety. Ideological political clubs always propose to reconstruct society according to an ideal plan. "To establish the reign of Virtue and Reason," was the way the Jacobin Club put it—and in the name of Virtue and Reason, Robespierre sent thousands of victims to the guillotine. The ADA program begins: "Americans for Democratic Action is an organization of Liberals, banded together to help all mankind work toward freedom, justice and peace."

ADA is organized both nationally and locally. The national office in Washington has a paid staff of about a dozen, aided by members residing in the Washington area. In each state—about twenty at present—where there are enough members, a local chapter is chartered; elsewhere there are individual members-at-large.

Officially, ADA seeks to work within both major parties (as well as New York's Liberal Party). In



practice, ADA operations are concentrated on the Democratic Party, which in the words of an ADA leader "offers the best hope as a vehicle for Liberalism." Nevertheless, ADA resists absorption into the Democratic Party. It criticizes even its own members in government when they stray from the ADA line on an important issue.

ADA also operates as a regular lobby, registered under the Lobbying Act, with a paid legislative representative. Former Attorney General Francis Biddle testified when chairman of ADA that ADA functioned as part of a wider front that he called "the Liberal lobby." This galaxy of organizations is held together by interlocking directorships much like those of the utility companies in the Sam Insull era, as well as by ideology —ADA is indeed, the center of grav-

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ity of the Liberal galaxy. This is because ADA is the most serious about its "Liberalism"—that is, its ideology—and because, unlike the others, which have specialized interests, ADA is "multi-purpose," taking just about the entire universe for its province.

Influence on Public Opinion

More important for the long run than party politics and lobbying is a third type of ADA activity: what ADA literature calls "mobilizing public opinion." Besides *ADA World*, ADA issues all sorts of pamphlets, leaflets, press releases, handouts. The ADA Book Club distributes volumes given the ADA imprimatur. Summer trips abroad—in recent years featuring tours of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union—are conducted under guidance of ADA staff members, with pre-arranged visits to ADA's ideological friends.

Summer schools, with big-name ADAers among the teachers, instruct their pupils in the theory and practice of ADAism. Conferences are arranged on civil rights, unemployment, McCarthyism and disarmament. "The national office operates an informal speakers' bureau. . . . A particular [and, one might add, very successful] effort is made to place members or sympathizers on national television and radio public affairs programs." (The quotation is from Prof. Brock.) The many highly skilled verbalists among the ADA membership are continually presenting their individual versions of ADA ideology: Messrs. Schlesinger, Galbraith, Bowles, Humphrey, Wayne Morse; as well as Reinhold Niebuhr (theologian), Archibald MacLeish (poet), Marquis Childs (columnist), Michael Straight (editor, *New Republic*), James Wechsler (editorial page editor and columnist, *New York Post*). . . . Viewed as a propaganda staff the list is formidable.

Though it would no doubt like to have more than its current 15,000 or so members, ADA is not and does not wish to be a "mass organization." In his introduction to Prof. Brock's book, the well-known writer Max Lerner gives the ADA theory on this point in sociological jargon: ADA is "an idea-in-action, and its power remains a leverage power. But leverage for what? Not for mass opinion in a mass culture . . . but for the attitudes of the creative minorities in a creative America. For it is true in politics, as in the arts, that the mass seeks direction from the experience and judgment of the relatively few."

The ADA story is concentrated in that question. ADA is a self-appointed "elite organization," an activist "cadre" (as James Loeb Jr. called ADA when he was its National Secretary). It does not seek to influence "the masses" directly, but to work with and on the minority of "opinion makers"—university teachers, writers, editors, TV commentators, columnists, publicists, and accessible political leaders. With the "leverage" thus secured the unwitting majority is to be swung toward the ADA goals. Prof. Brock rightly remarks that it is this *combination* of the ideological and activist aspects, of theory and practice, that makes ADA unique among native American organizations.

Every spring ADA holds a convention to adopt a platform and elect officers—among them, invariably, Hubert Humphrey. The platform—an enormous document covering every imaginable topic—changes with glacial slowness over the years. Its essential doctrine—the ADA ideology—and most of the wording are reaffirmed by the conventions year after year.

Let us examine this ADA ideology, believed by ADA members and expressed in the ADA platform.

A. *In relation to domestic affairs.* First and foremost, the ADA ideology calls for the total Welfare State. Most ADAers say that the ADA prophet in economics is not Karl Marx but John Maynard Keynes, and that what they want is not "socialism" but a planned, democratic "mixed economy." The names and definitions are not very important.

ADA has never declared for nationalization of all "means of production," and therefore is not "socialist" in the 100 per cent classical sense. But neither is any socialist party anywhere at the present time. ADA's foreign connections have always featured the socialist leaders and parties of other countries. The first foreign lecturer to tour this coun-

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Home Thoughts from Abroad

To the average European, Goldwater is a far more menacing prospect than Mao or Khrushchev. —*John Crosby*, Paris Herald Tribune

Dear Mr. Crosby:

Since it's plain
You're writing from Majorca, Spain,
I guess you've made some soundings to
Assure us such a statement's true.
See, here's my problem: over here
Some columnists are . . . insincere.
Let's pick the Alsops as the worst.
With Stewart up and Joe on first,
They've played a game of ball the like
Of which exacerbated Ike!
Drew Pearson's also batting runs,
While Lippmann regularly shuns
A hit, when there's a chance to walk—
With lots and lots and lots of talk.
I'm sure you understand. I'm sure
Your "average European's" pure,
Unbiased, well-read, in-the-know,
As well as chic and *comme il faut*.
The *New York Trib's* been sounding shrill,
But it's been hot.

Yours truly, Bill
(W. H. von Dreele)

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try under ADA auspices was Jennie Lee, a leading British socialist, wife of the very leftist Aneurin Bevan. ADA member Arthur Schlesinger Jr., in *ADA World*, located ADA within the same movement as "the democratic socialists and leftists" of Europe.

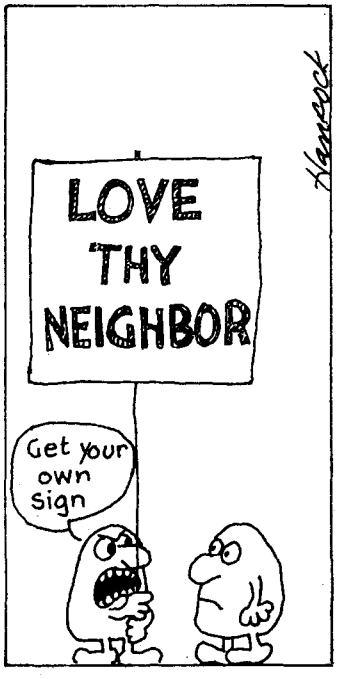
For Washington Subsidies

On every *specific* issue in every field, ADA supports government control, planning, financing or takeover. "The government must undertake to build firm foundations for enduring prosperity by bold long-range programs for the development of our cities, the elimination of our slums, and the provision of full and equal opportunities for health, education and security for all our people." "Government subsidies and financing and, if necessary, government plants must be used to provide more power, more steel and other vitally necessary raw materials." "The government needs increased authority over the amount of bank credit and bank resources." "Housing goals must be set by the Federal Government." "The leadership of the Federal Government is central to the achievement of growth and full employment." These are typical demands that appear and reappear in ADA manifestoes, platforms, articles and speeches, from the beginning to the present day.

Secondly, ADA is critical of the indirect or "representative" democracy defined by the Constitution, and favors steps toward direct or "plebiscitary" democracy. It proposes eliminating seniority in choosing chairmen of congressional committees; equalizing election districts by federal compulsion (a long-time ADA demand now adopted by the Supreme Court); abolishing the electoral college in favor of direct popular election of the President and Vice President.

Third, ADA stands for a sweeping program, enforced by all arms of the Federal Government, to eliminate all conceivable forms of discrimination in housing, voting, education, health, employment, recreation, loans and subsidies. To guarantee the ADA version of the rights of free speech and assembly, ADA advocates strict limits on congressional investigations and government security proceedings; no restrictions on passports; abolition of loyalty oaths; repeal of the Smith Act, Internal Security Act and Communist Control Act.

Fourth, ADA stands for "executive supremacy" within the government. Congress is severely scolded in nearly every issue of *ADA World* as the hotbed of reaction and stupidity. For the accomplishment of its program, ADA has always put its faith in the



power of the Presidency. Prof. Brock writes of the Liberals' "long love affair with the Presidency." With Hubert Humphrey in the White House, that affair is presumably to be consummated.

On the ADA Score-sheets by which congressmen are rated each session, a plus has invariably been given to a vote *for* an increase in executive power or *for* more spending, control, planning or activity by any branch of the Federal Government — with the sole exception of control over free speech, assembly and subversion. The last is the only field in which ADA has ever advocated a decrease in the role of government.

For World Government

B. *In relation to international affairs.* The ADA ideology is based on thoroughgoing internationalism. Its founding (1947) charter stated unequivocally: "The establishment of a world government with powers adequate to prevent war must be an objective of the United States foreign policy to be achieved at the earliest possible date." The official program describes ADA as "dedicated to the achievement of freedom and economic security *for all people everywhere*" (italics added). The platform declares that "support of the principles of the United Nations" —not the national interest of the United States—"is the cornerstone of our foreign policy."

Granted the ADA's dedicated internationalism, it is not surprising that in its periodicals and other literature we never come across any words, articles or symbols that could be called "patriotic." No flag ever appears; no patriotic quotations or slogans; no reference to patriotic memories, holidays or observances. This is natural enough, for ADAers regard themselves as citizens of humanity and the world, bound to a higher loyalty than any mere national patriotic ties. They celebrate UN Day, not the Fourth of July.

Second, ADA stands for "general and complete disarmament" (except for a UN armed force), and continuous steps—including "unilateral initiatives"—toward that end.

Third, ADA stands for peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union. In the 1947 charter program, ADA laid down its perspective: "We firmly believe in the urgent need for breaking out of the vicious circle of mutual distrust between ourselves and Russia. We favor a policy based on an understanding of the legitimate aspirations of the Soviet Union." The current program declares: "Policy toward the Soviet Union should be guided by the concepts of defense without provocation and conciliation without appeasement" (no details being given on how one conciliates Bolshevik revolutionaries without appeasing them). "Top priority should be given to a relaxation of international tensions." Nowhere in ADA literature is the Soviet Union identified as an enemy. Suitably conciliated, the Soviet regime will prosper and relax; the era of universal peace and plenty will begin.

Fourth, ADA since 1950 has held that the United States should immediately withdraw recognition of the Chiang Kai-shek government "as the

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government of China" and undertake "initiation, together with our allies, of negotiations toward diplomatic recognition of the Peking regime and its accreditation to the UN as the government of China."

As for South Vietnam, ADA (in its 1962 program) found that "the civil war is in the main the result of decay of the totalitarian Diem regime." ADAers "vigorously oppose the unilateral commitment of America's own military power and prestige to sustain governments in Asia or elsewhere against resistance of their own people." The 1962 program also proposed "de facto recognition of East Germany" in return for a Soviet guarantee on access to Berlin, replacement of NATO troops in Berlin by a "UN presence," and "standing authority" for the President "to extend loans and grants to the Communist countries of eastern Europe."

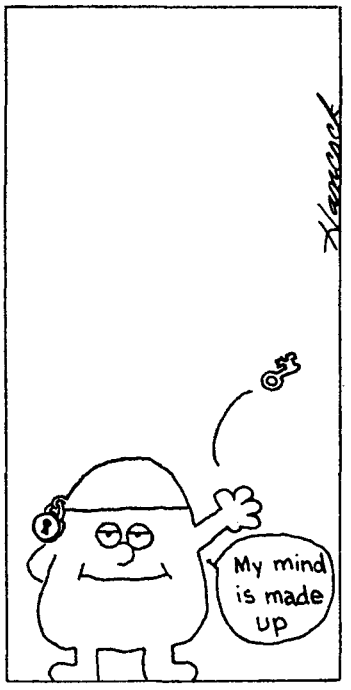
Anti-Anti-Communist

What exactly is the relation between ADA and Communism?

It is a fact that ADA excludes known Communists, and it is a fact that in its first two years (1947-48) ADA opposed Henry Wallace's Progressive movement, which was the concentration point of that period for Communists and fellow travelers.

But ADA's record on domestic Communism subsequent to those first two years becomes more complicated. ADA does not deny, *in general and in the abstract,* that Communists exist, that they are a menace, and that steps should be taken against them. *In particular cases,* however, ADA hardly ever gets indignant about Communists or fellow travelers. It is the individuals or institutions trying to combat the Communists that ADA singles out for attack. ADA was accurate in christening itself "the *non*-Communist Left." ADA is not "*anti*-Communist"; it is the perfect example of "anti-anti-Communism."

From 1950 until the present day, ADA has called for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and has attacked HUAC in the sharpest manner. The Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee and the FBI are also cherished ADA targets—but seldom the Communists and Soviet spies whom these agencies have unearthed.



There has been no change over the years. In July 1962, Prof. John Roche, as ADA National Chairman, wrote to the *New Republic* concerning the approaching trial — after years of legal jockeying—of the Communist Party leadership: "It is deplorable that Attorney General Kennedy has . . . launched legal proceedings against Gus Hall and a dozen others for refusing to register under the Communist Control Act of 1954 . . . We believe that the Communist Control Act is both unconstitutional and unworthy of a free people." ADA has many times delivered the same judgment on the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act.

Toward international Communism and the Soviet Union the ADA attitude and practice are the same as toward domestic Communism. We should give abundant aid to Poland and Yugoslavia on the left, but clamp harsh sanctions on South Africa and Latin American military governments on the right. We should give diplomatic recognition and UN membership to Mao Tse-tung, but withdraw recognition from Chiang Kai-shek.

No one was more uncompromising and bloodthirsty against the Nazis than the ADA founding fathers. It was war to the death. Nor has ADA yet forgiven Germany: "Germany's record of cruelty and inhumanity," ADA insists, "should not be forgotten." With the Soviet Union ADA can show infinite patience. "An understanding of the legitimate aspirations," "negotiations," even "conciliation" are the proper approaches toward Moscow, while waiting for "relaxation and greater personal freedom within the Soviet regime."

There is no ADA summons to support the peoples of captive eastern Europe in a struggle for freedom. How different is the ADA outlook on Franco's Spain (which furnishes bases indispensable to our defenses)! Over the years, ADA platforms thundered: "We unequivocally condemn the fascist regime in Spain. We favor political and economic support to the government-in-exile and to the democratic forces within Spain."

On Castro's Cuba

The attitude toward Cuba has not been different. For Fulgencio Batista —who for all his vicious tyranny was firmly aligned with the United States against Communist aggression—drawing and quartering and boiling in oil were too gentle in ADA eyes. But ADA greeted Fidel Castro's takeover sympathetically. Prof. Robert J. Alexander explained in the April 1960 issue of *ADA World,* fifteen months after Castro had come to power, that Castro's denunciations of the U.S. were deserved, because they are "largely due to the recent history of our relations with the Latin American countries." Nothing about Communism; nothing about a threat to the United States. An editorial stated in October 1960: "Castro's hold in Cuba comes from what he has done for his people, not what he has done for the Russians." Two years later ADA stood unmoved as Cuba was being rapidly transformed into a Soviet military base: "Action by the U.S. to intervene militarily or to support military invasion by Cuban exiles or by others in violation of the Charters of the UN and the OAS would be not only wrong but self-defeating. . . . [This is] no time to take unilateral economic sanctions against Cuba." With dozens of ADAers close to his ear, is it any wonder that President Kennedy held back the air cover needed for victory at the Bay of Pigs?

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The ADA is not Communist, granted. But the record and analysis of its policy prove that time and again the ADA position serves to block, blunt or smother action against domestic subversion and espionage; that time and again in international affairs, the practical consequences of the ADA position serve to advance Communist interests.

What We Can Expect

Even without the Presidency directly in its hands, ADA has had a large influence on the government's policy and direction. In view of ADA's modest numbers and size, this might seem astonishing if we did not have in our age many other examples of the power of an ideologically motivated, activist, elite cadre making use of modern methods of propaganda, infiltration and political warfare. On issue after issue—accepting unbalanced budgets as a principle, abolishing loyalty oaths, one-man-one-vote reapportionment, dropping ideas of Cold War victory and the liberation of Communist-ruled nations, withholding firm action against Castro, moving toward détente with Moscow—ADA proposals have become government policy. If ADA now takes over the Presidency by Hubert Humphrey's accession, we must expect a rapid and general remodeling of the nation according to the ADA pattern. There will be no reason for surprise: ADA has explained frankly what it wants. Nor are Hubert Humphrey and his fellow-ADAers evil-minded villains. The trouble is that they believe their intentions. But the ideology they live by inevitably promotes statism and regimentation at home, and piecemeal surrender abroad.

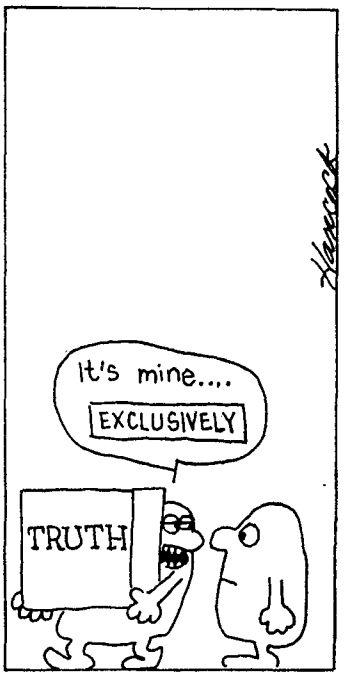
Seminar in Modern Journalistic Thought: Final Examination

WILLIAM F. GAVIN

The following questions seek to test your ability in modern social and political theory. Answer as many questions as you can. If a question seems to puzzle you, simply skip it, go on to the next question, and come back to the first question later. Remember: the correct answer to any question has been determined by looking at the issues objectively.

SECTION ONE: Multiple Choice. Circle the correct letter.

1. the only alternative to thermonuclear destruction of this planet is:
   a) Hoot Gibson
   b) Casey Stengel
   c) The United Nations under the creative leadership of U Thant
   d) Veronica Lake
2. One of the following men is *least* known to Lyndon Johnson
   a) Hoot Gibson
   b) Bobby Baker
   c) Fatty Arbuckle
   d) All of the above except a and c
3. Which of the following groups would you *least* like to see in a position of leadership in the Republican Party?
   a) Goldwater, Attila the Hun, Lucky Luciano
   b) William Scranton, Albert Schweitzer, Edgar Guest
   c) Abraham Lincoln, Nelson Rockefeller, Francis of Assisi
   d) Henry Cabot Lodge, Tiny Tim, Goody Two Shoes
4. Television debates are not desirable because
   a) Television (except in one-channel areas) hurts the eyes and causes swollen feet
   b) Arguing isn't nice
   c) In an election year, loyal Americans should not cast the shadow of suspicion on our President by challenging his views on foreign affairs, domestic affairs, old buddies, or beagles' ears.
   d) All of the above



SECTION TWO: True-False. Write the letter "T" or "F" in the space provided.

1. Before 1932, darkness covered the land, and most Americans were ill-housed, ill-clothed, and as poor as they are today except for some of them in fact most of them (today that is) but we still got a lot of poor folk, although most of them are hold-overs from pre-1932. ( )
2. All change is good, except change which attempts to change the changes brought about to change things which really needed change because they were reactionary, extreme, and just plain dull. ( )
3. Alger Hiss, Bobby Baker, Yalta, Cuba, the Berlin Wall, Atlantis, Prester John, and the unicorn are people, places, and things which never really existed, and even if they did, why look to yesterday for today's vital needs? ( )
4. There are two sides to every question except the efficacy of the United Nations, disarmament, Mother's Day, a boy and his dog, and how easy it is for a guy on the federal payroll to own his own teevee (station, not set) just by clean living, careful driving, and honest companions. ( )

SECTION THREE: ESSAY QUESTION. Answer *one*.

Discuss the use of nasal symbolism in the 1964 campaign. Be certain to discuss especially "the scent of Fascism," "the odor of racism" and other nose jobs.

Compare and contrast Lyndon B. Johnson's views on civil rights. Be certain to show how a change, even a radical change, in point of view is a sign of growth, maturity and, by God, he does remind you of Honest Abe at that, don't he?

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THE Democrat Margin of Victory

During the past four years, the Democratic Administration succeeded on many occasions in winning a majority in the House of Representatives only as the result of the cooperation of Republican Congressmen. Here is a brief description of some of the crucial Administration measures of anti-conservative nature, beginning with the vote to pack the Rules Committee in 1961, extending to the vote in favor of President Johnson's "Poverty Program" during this summer. There follows a list of all Republican Congressmen, the number of times they defected to the Democratic side, and a list of the bills on which they voted with the Democrats. —Ed.

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS: *First Session* *1961*

R.C. 5 — H.R. 127. A resolution providing that during the 87th Congress the Committee on Rules shall be composed of 15 members. So-called "rules packing". On agreeing to resolution. Jan. 31, 1961. Passed 217-212. "Present" 1. Dem. 195-64 Rep. 22-148. Hailed as major Kennedy-Rayburn victory.

R.C. 14 — H.R. 4510. A bill to provide a special program for feed grain for 1961. On passage. Mar. 9, 1961. Passed 209-202. Dem. 205-41 Rep. 4-161. Hailed as major Kennedy victory.

R.C. 28 — H.R. 3935. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, to provide coverage for employees of large enterprises engaged in retail trade or service and of other employers engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, to increase the minimum wage under the Act to $1.25 an hour, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. Mar. 24, 1961. Failed 196-224. Dem. 172-79 Rep. 24-145.

R.C. 33 — S. 1. The Area Redevelopment Act (ARA). On passage. Mar. 29, 1961. Passed 251-167. Dem. 208-42 Rep. 43-125. A key administration program.

R.C. 44 — S. 1. ARA Conference Report on adoption. Apr. 26, 1961. Passed 224-193. Dem. 193-56 Rep. 31-137.

R.C. 46 — H.R. 3935. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. Conference report on adoption. May 3, 1961. Passed 230-196. Dem. 197-58 Rep. 33-138. Key administration vote.

R.C. 75 — H.R. 7446. A bill to provide a one year extension of the existing corporate normal-tax rate and of certain excise-tax rates. On motion to recommit with instructions to repeal the 10% tax on railroad, air, water and bus travel. June 8, 1961. Failed 189-196. Dem. 43-189 Rep. 146-7. President opposed to motion.

R.C. 130 — S. 1643. Agricultural Act of 1961 providing wheat and feed grains control program for 1962. Conference report on adoption. Aug. 3, 1961. Passed 224-170. Dem. 175-58 Rep. 49-112. Yea vote supported President.

R.C. 167 — H.R. 84. A bill to stabilize the mining of lead and zinc by small domestic producers on public, Indian, and other lands, and for other purposes. On passage. Aug. 24, 1961. Passed 196-172. Dem. 169-49 Rep. 27-123. No presidential position on this bill.

R.C. 179 — H.R. 8028. Juvenile Delinquency Act providing $10 million annually for three years. On Griffin amendment to limit pilot project to the District of Columbia. Aug. 30, 1961. Failed 187-217. Dem. 55-188 Rep. 132-29.

R.C. 199 — H.R. 9076. Public Works Appropriation Bill for fiscal 1962. On Jensen motion to recommit with instructions to delete funds for transmission lines in connection with upper Colorado River Basin project and connecting lines for federal power projects. On motion to recommit with instructions. Sept. 13, 1961. Failed 182-225. Dem. 41-202 Rep. 141-23. President won major victory on the defeat of this motion.

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS: *Second Session* *1962*

R.C. 18 — H.R. 10050. Debt ceiling increase to $300 billion. On passage. Feb. 20, 1962. Passed 251-144. Dem. 191-46 Rep. 60-98. Victory for President.

R.C. 37 — H.R. 8723. A bill to amend the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act with respect to the method of enforcement and to provide certain additional sanctions, and for other purposes. Conference report, on motion to recommit to prohibit affiliated union membership by Labor Dept. employees administering the Act's provisions. Mar. 15, 1962. Failed 182-218. Dem. 56-176. Rep. 126-42.

R.C. 69 — H.R. 1151. Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions to prohibit franked "occupant" mail. Apr. 11, 1962. Failed 192-197. Dem. 50-179 Rep. 142-18. Republicans saved the day for junk mail.

R.C. 111 — H.R. 11990. A bill to increase the Debt ceiling to $305 billion. On passage. June 14, 1962. Passed 211-192. "Present" 1. Dem. 202-39 Rep. 9-153. Major victory for President.

R.C. 178 — H.R. 529. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Mann Creek Federal Reclamation Project, Idaho, and for other purposes. On passage. July 26, 1962. Passed 199-162 Dem. 177-38 Rep. 22-124.

R.C. 185 — H.R. 575. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the upper division of the Baker Federal Reclamation Project, Oregon, and for other purposes. On passage. Aug. 1, 1962. Passed 200-182. Dem. 184-41 Rep. 16-141.

R.C. 186 — H.R. 10904. A bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes. Conference report, on motion to recommit to delete $100 million more for NIH that the Senate added. Aug. 1, 1962. Failed 173-214. Dem. 40-188 Rep. 133-26. Twenty-six Republicans saved the day for the spenders.

R.C. 208 — H.R. 10113. Accelerated Public Works Bill. On motion to recommit. Aug. 29, 1962. Failed 192-221. Dem. 44-202 Rep. 148-19. In effect the vote on the bill since no vote on final passage. Major breakthrough in concentration of executive power, courtesy of 19 Republicans.

R.C. 215 — S. 2768. An act to authorize the President to purchase $100

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million worth of U.N. bonds and the appropriation of funds therefor. On motion to recommit with instructions to bar loans until U.N. Assembly adopted the World Court opinions on financial obligations of members. Sept. 14, 1962. Failed 171-219 Dem. 44-193 Rep. 127-26. Republicans defeated this move for administration victory.

R.C. 241 — H.R. 13175. A Foreign Aid Appropriation Act for the fiscal 1963. On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce economic aid appropriation by $100 million. Sept. 20, 1962. Failed 190-203. Dem. 65-169 Rep. 125-34. Nay vote was in support of the President.

R. C. 285 — H. R. 13175. A Foreign Aid Appropriation Act Conference report, on adoption. Oct. 6, 1962. Passed 171-108. Dem. 116-50 Rep. 55-58. Yea vote supported President.

EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS:
First Session *1963*

R.C. 4 — H.R. 5. A bill to permanently enlarge ("pack") the House Rules Committee from 12 to 15 members. On agreeing to resolution. Jan. 9, 1963. Passed 235-196. Dem. 207-48 Rep. 28-148. Administration and Liberal victory.

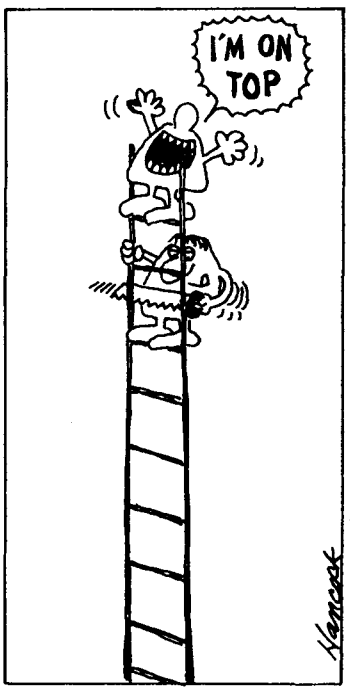
R.C. 133 — H.R. 7885. A bill to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 196, as amended, and for other purposes. On passage. Aug. 23, 1963. Passed 224-186. "Present" 1. Dem. 172-66 Rep. 52-120. Liberal victory.

R.C. 174 — H.R. 6237. A bill to authorize appropriation of $500,000 annually for 5 years for collection, reproduction and publication of documentary source material significant to the history of the United States and for other purposes. On passage. Oct. 15, 1963. Passed 158-154. Dem. 148-30 Rep. 10-124. President favored.

R.C. 200 — H.R. 8864. A bill to carry out the obligations of the United States under the International Coffee Agreement of 1962, signed at New York on Sept. 28, 1962, and for other purposes. On passage. Nov. 14, 1963. Passed 181-145. Dem. 163-27 Rep. 18-118. President favored.

R.C. 219 — H.R. 6196. A bill to pay a cotton subsidy to domestic textile mills and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. Dec. 4, 1963. Failed 179-224. "Present" 2. Dem. 43-191 Rep. 136-33. Key Administration vote.

R.C. 220 — H.R. 6196. A bill to pay a cotton subsidy to domestic textile mills and for other purposes. On passage. Dec. 4, 1963. Passed 216-182. "Present" 7. Dem. 182-48 Rep. 34-134. Key Administration vote.



R.C. 237 — H.R. 4955. A bill to expand Vocational Education program and extend NDEA Act at cost of $921 million over four year period. Conference report, on motion to recommit with instructions to delete $150 million. Dec. 12, 1963. Failed 180-193. Dem. 42-173 Rep. 138-20. Administration victory.

EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS:
Second Session *1964*

R.C. 11 — S. 2265. Amend the 1956 Library Services Act to extend federal aid for library services to urban (as well as rural) areas, increase to $25 million in fiscal 1964 federal grants for library services and authorize $20 million in fiscal 1964 for grants to the states for construction of public libraries. Frelinghuysen (Rep. N.J.) amendment to delete construction aid and aid to services in urban areas, and double the existing population and authorization limits on aid to rural areas. Jan. 21, 1964. Failed 179-183. Dem. 38-171 Rep. 141-12. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

R.C. 12 — S. 2265. Martin (Rep. Neb.) motion to recommit the bill to the Educ. and Labor Committee with instructions to delete provisions for library construction aid. Jan. 21, 1964. Failed 174-188. Dem. 35-174 Rep. 139-14. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

R.C. 80 — H.R. 5838. Fulton (Rep. Pa.) motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Science and Astronautics Committee to require that transfers of $250,000 or more to the Bureau must be submitted to the Appropriations Committees. Mar. 23, 1964. Failed 151-172. Dem. 20-159 Rep. 131-13.

R.C. 100 — H.R. 6196. Administration's wheat-cotton bill. Adoption of a resolution (H.R. 665) to agree to the Senate version of the bill. Apr. 8, 1964. H.R. 665 passed 211-203. Dem. 201-36 Rep. 10-167. A major administration victory.

R.C. 131 — H.R. 11202. A $5.1 billion Agricultural Appropriation bill for 1965. Bow motion to recommit the bill with instruction to amend it to prohibit the use of funds for export payments or export subsidies on agricultural products shipped to Communist nations. May 20, 1964. Failed 186-187 Dem. 30-182 Rep. 156-5. Five Republicans saved day for the President.

R.C. 152 — H.R. 11380. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1964. Adair motion to recommit the bill with instructions to reduce the fiscal 1965 authorization for development loans by $750 million and the President's contingency fund by $50 million. June 10, 1964. Failed 193-211. Dem. 45-189 Rep. 148-22. Major foreign aid victory for the President.

R.C. 153 — H.R. 11380. Passage of the bill authorizing $2.041 billion in new foreign aid appropriations for fiscal 1965. June 10, 1964. Passed 230-175. Dem. 174-60 Rep. 56-115. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

R.C. 155 — H.R. 11049. Raise the salaries of approximately 1.7 million federal career employees and of federal executives, judges and members of Congress although pay increases less than H.R. 8986. June 11, 1964. Passed 243-157. Dem. 184-46 Rep. 59-111. A "yea" was a vote supporting the position of President Johnson. House had voted down by 184-222 margin a similar proposal (H.R. 8986) on Mar. 12, 1964.

R.C. 169 — H.R. 3881. Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964. Bolton motion to recommit the bill to the House Banking and Currency Committee with instructions to deter action until the House and Senate Banking and Currency Committees had studied the

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results of current federal mass transportation demonstration programs and the status of metropolitan transportation planning being carried out pursuant to a requirement of the 1962 Highway Act. June 25, 1964. Failed 190-214. Dem. 56-180 Rep. 134-33. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

R.C. 170 — H.R. 3881. Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964. Passage of the bill authorizing federal matching grants to states and localities totaling $375 million over three years as the "first installment" of a program to improve urban mass transportation service. June 25, 1964. Passed 212-189. Dem. 173-61 Rep. 39-128. Major victory for President and major breakthrough for additional federal responsibility and spending.

R.C. 173 — H.R. 11812. The $3.7 billion Foreign Aid appropriation for fiscal 1965. Adoption of a resolution (H. R. 793) waiving all points of order against the bill. June 30, 1964. Passed 222-162. Dem. 187-34 Rep. 35-128.

R.C. 176 — H.R. 11812. Foreign Aid Bill. Rhodes motion to recommit the bill to the Appropriations Committee with instructions to reduce economic aid funds by $247.8 million as recommended by Rep. Passman, Chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee. July 1, 1964. Failed 198-208. Dem. 55-185 Rep. 143-23. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

R.C. 177 — H.R. 11812. Foregin Aid Bill. Passage of the bill appropriating $3,316,572,400 for foreign assistance and $422,677,000 for related programs. July 1, 1964. Passed 231-174. Dem. 176-63 Rep. 55-111. A "yea" vote supported the President's position.

R.C. 190 — S. 978. Permit self-employed commercial fishermen to receive medical care and hospitalization without charge at hospitals of the Public Health Service. July 28, 1964. Passed 202-170. Dem. 159-52 Rep. 43-118.

R.C. 213 — H.R. 11377. Poverty Bill. On adoption of Landrum substitute. Aug. 7, 1964. Passed 228-190. Dem. 208-20 Rep. 20-170. Key vote on issue.
R.C. 216 — H.R. 11377. Final Passage of Poverty Bill. Aug. 8, 1964. Passed 226-184. Dem. 204-40 Rep. 22-144. Hailed by President Johnson as a great victory for his administration.

How to read this list:

"SMITH, Calif. (1): 1964—RC 155." Read: "Republican Congressman Smith, of California, voted once during the past four years in such a way as to contribute to a Democratic majority that could not have been realized without Republican support. The occasion was in 1964; the bill, whose Roll Call Number is 155, was H. R. 11049—a bill to raise the salaries of approximately 1.7 million federal career employees."

HALPERN, N.Y. (**34**): 1961 — RC's 5, 28, 33, 44, 46, 179; 1962 — 18, 37, 185, 186, 208, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 133, 174, 219, 220, 237; 1964 — 11, 12, 100, 152, 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 176, 177, 190, 213, 216. ■ **LINDSAY,** N.Y. (**31**): 1961 — RC's 5, 28, 33, 46, 75, 179; 1962 — 18, 37, 111, 186, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 133, 174, 219, 220, 237; 1964 — 131, 152, 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 176, 177, 190, 213, 216. ■ **CAHILL,** N.J. (**26**): 1961 — RC's 5, 28, 33, 46, 179; 1962 — 18, 37, 111, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 133; 1964 — 11, 12, 152, 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 176, 177, 190, 213, 216. ■ **DWYER,** N. J. (**26**): 1961 — RC's 5, 28, 33, 46, 179; 1962 — 18, 37, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 133, 219, 220; 1964 — 11, 12, 152, 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 176, 177, 213, 216 ■ **MATHIAS,** Md. (**25**): 1961 — RC's 5, 33, 44, 179; 1962 — 18, 37, 178, 185, 186, 208, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 133, 237; 1964 — 131, 152, 153, 155, 173, 176, 177, 213, 216. ■ **BALDWIN,** Calif. (**24**): 1961 — RC's 5, 46, 75, 130; 1962 — 18, 37, 178, 185, 186, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 133, 200, 237; 1964 — 11, 12, 152, 153, 176, 177, 190, 213, 216. ■ **CORBETT,** Pa. (**24**): 1961 — RC's 5, 28, 33, 44, 46, 167, 199; 1962 — 18, 37, 111, 186, 208, 215, 285; 1963 — 4, 133, 237; 1964 — 153, 155, 169, 170, 177, 213, 216. ■ **MORSE,** Mass. (**24**): 1961 — RC's 5, 28, 33, 46, 179; 1962 — 18, 37, 186, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 133, 174, 219, 220; 1964 — 152, 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 176, 177, 216. ■ **OSMERS,** N. J. (**24**): 1961 — RC's 5, 28, 46, 179; 1962 — 18, 37, 111, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 219, 220; 1964 — 11, 12, 152, 153, 155, 169, 173, 176, 177, 190. ■ **SIBAL,** Conn. (**24**): 1961 — RC's 5, 46, 179; 1962 — 37, 186, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 133, 174, 200, 219, 220, 237; 1964 — 153, 155, 169, 173, 176, 177, 190, 213, 216. ■ **TUPPER,** Maine (**24**): 1961 — RC's 33, 44; 1962 — 18, 37, 186, 208, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 133, 219, 220, 237; 1964 — 100, 152, 153, 155, 173, 176, 177, 190, 213, 216. ■ **CONTE,** Mass. (**23**): 1961 — RC's 5, 28, 46, 179; 1962 — 18, 37, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 133, 220; 1964 — 11, 12, 152, 153, 155, 173, 176, 177, 190, 216. ■ **WALLHAUSER,** N.J. (**23**): 1961 — RC's 5, 28, 33, 46; 1962 — 18, 37, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 133, 219, 220; 1964 — 11, 12, 152, 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 176, 177. ■ **FINO,** N.Y. (**22**): 1961 — RC's 5, 28, 44, 46, 179; 1962 — 18, 37, 186, 208, 285; 1963 — 4, 133, 237; 1964 — 12, 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 177, 190, 213. ■ **FULTON,** Pa. (**22**): 1961 — RC's 5, 28, 33, 44, 46, 179; 1962 — 178, 186, 208, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 133, 237; 1964 — 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 177, 213, 216. ■ **WIDNALL,** N.J. (**20**): 1961 — RC's 46, 179; 1962 — 18, 37, 186, 241, 285; 1963 — 133, 219, 220; 1964 — 11, 12, 152, 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 176, 177. ■ **FRELINGHUYSEN,** N.J. (**18**): 1961 — RC's 179; 1962 — 18, 37, 111, 215, 241; 1963 — 133, 200; 1964 — 131, 152, 153, 155, 169, 173, 176, 177, 190. ■ **MAILLIARD,** Calif. (**18**): 1961 — RC's 46; 1962 — 18, 37, 186, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 133; 1964 — 131, 152, 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 176, 177, 190. ■ **TOLLEFSON,** Wash. (**18**): 1961 — RC's 28,

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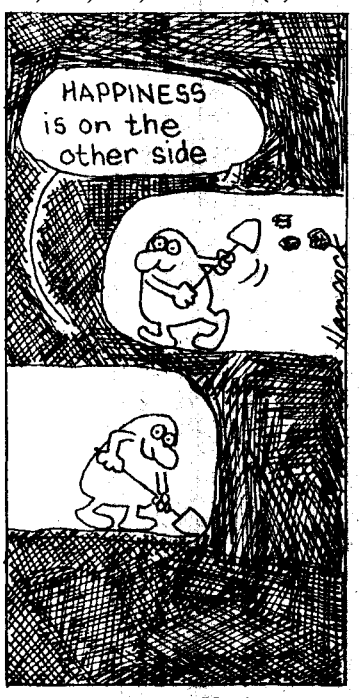
33, 44, 46, 167, 179, 199; 1962 — 37, 178, 185, 285; 1963 — 237; 1964 — 11, 12, 155, 169, 170, 190. ■ **MARTIN,** Mass. (17): 1961 — RC's 33, 44, 46; 1962 — 18, 111, 186; 1963 — 4, 133, 219, 220; 1964 — 155, 169, 170, 173, 176, 177. ■ **STAFFORD,** Vt. (17): 1961 — RC's 46, 130, 199; 1962 — 18, 37, 186, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 133; 1964 — 153, 155, 173, 177, 213, 216. ■ **BATES,** Mass. (16): 1961—RC's 5, 28, 46; 1962 — 18, 241; 1963 — 4, 133, 219, 220; 1964 — 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 177, 190. ■ **GLENN,** N.J. (16): 1961 — RC's 28, 33, 44, 46, 130; 1962 — 18, 285; 1963 — 4, 219, 220; 1964 — 155, 169, 170, 190, 213, 216. ■ **KEITH,** Mass. (15): 1961 — RC's 28, 33, 46; 1962 — 18, 285; 1963 — 219, 220; 1964 — 100, 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 177, 190. ■ **O'KONSKI,** Wis. (15): 1961 — RC's 5, 33, 44, 46, 130, 167, 199; 1962 — 37, 208; 1963 — 4; 1964 — 169, 170, 190, 213, 216. ■ ***REID,** N.Y. (14): 1963 — RC's 4, 133, 237; 1964 — 152, 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 176, 177, 190, 213, 216. ■ **AYRES,** Ohio (13): 1961 — RC's 5, 179; 1962 — 18, 178, 285; 1963 — 4, 133, 200; 1964 — 152, 153, 173, 177, 190. ■ **BROOMFIELD,** Mich. (13): 1961 — RC's 179; 1962 — 186, 241, 285; 1963 — 4, 133; 1964 — 11, 12, 152, 153, 173, 176, 177. ■ **SAYLOR,** Pa. (13): 1961 — RC's 28, 33, 44, 46; 1962 — 18, 37, 186, 208; 1963 — 4; 1964 — 169, 170, 213, 216. ■ **SCHWEIKER,** Pa. (13): 1961 — RC's 28, 33, 44, 46; 1962 — 37, 215, 285; 1963 — 133, 237; 1964 — 153, 169, 170, 177. ■ **CURTIN,** Pa. (12): 1961 — RC's 33, 44, 167; 1962 — 18, 37, 215, 241; 1963 — 237; 1964 — 169, 170, 177, 190. ■ ***HORTON,** N.Y. (12): 1963 — RC's 4, 133; 1964 — 152, 153, 155, 169, 170, 173, 176, 177, 213, 216. ■ **PIRNIE,** N.Y. (12): 1961 — RC's 33, 44, 46; 1962 — 18, 69, 241; 1963 — 133, 219, 220; 1964 — 153, 173, 177. ■ **BARRY,** N.Y. (11): 1962 — RC's 18, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 133; 1964 — 152, 153, 155, 170, 176, 177. ■ **MAY,** Wash. (11): 1961 — RC's 130, 167, 179, 199; 1962 — 18, 185; 1963 — 133, 200; 1964 — 11, 12, 190. ■ **MILLIKEN,** Pa. (11): 1961 — RC's 28, 33, 46; 1962 — 18, 37; 1964 — 155, 169, 170, 190, 213, 216. ■ **SCHWENGEL,** Iowa (11): 1961 — RC's 28, 130; 1962 — 215, 241; 1963 — 133; 1964 — 152, 153, 155, 173, 176, 177. ■ **HORAN,** Wash. (10): 1961 — RC's 33, 130, 167, 199; 1962 — 69, 178, 185, 241; 1963 — 200; 1964 — 190. ■ **KUNKEL,** Pa. (10): 1961 — RC's 179; 1962 — 18, 37, 241, 285; 1963 — 133, 237; 1964 — 153, 155, 177. ■ **WHALLEY,** Pa. (10): 1961 — RC's 33, 44; 1962 — 37, 186, 208; 1963 — 133; 1964 — 153, 170, 177, 216. ■ ***McDADE,** Pa. (9): 1963 — RC's 4, 237; 1964 — 153, 155, 169, 170, 177, 213, 216. ■ **CHENOWETH,** Colo. (8): 1961 — RC's 33, 130, 167, 199; 1962 — 18, 178, 185; 1964 — 80. ■ **HOSMER,** Calif. (8): 1962 — RC's 285; 1963 — 133, 200; 1964 — 153, 155, 173, 177, 190. ■ **HALLECK,** Ind. (8): 1962 — RC's 18, 69, 285; 1963 — 133, 200; 1964 — 153, 173, 177. ■ **MOORE,** W. Va. (8): 1961 — RC's 33, 44, 46; 1962 — — 208; 1963 — 237; 1964 — 155, 213, 216. ■ **QUIE,** Minn. (8): 1962 — RC's 18, 241, 285; 1963 — 133, 174; 1964 — 153, 176, 177. ■ **SCHNEEBELI,** Pa. (8): 1961 — RC's 33, 44; 1962 — 18, 186, 285; 1963 — 133, 200; 1964 — 153. ■ **AUCHINCLOSS,** N.J. (7): 1962 — RC's 285; 1963 — 133; 1964 — 153, 155, 170, 177, 190. ■ **BOLTON, F., Ohio (7):** 1962 — RC's 18, 215, 241, 285; 1963 — 133; 1964 — 152, 153. ■ **BRAY, Ind. (7):** 1961 — RC's 33, 44, 130, 167; 1962 — 37, 208; 1964 — 80. ■ **CUNNINGHAM,** Neb. (7): 1961 — RC's 28, 46, 130, 199; 1962 — 37; 1964 — 169, 170. ■ **GRIFFIN,** Mich. (7): 1961 — RC's 75; 1962 — 18; 1963 — 133, 174, 200; 1964 — 153, 177. ■ ***GROVER,** N.Y. (7): 1963 — RC's 4, 133; 1964 — 153, 155, 169, 170, 177. ■ **GUBSER,** Calif. (7): 1962 — RC's 178, 185, 186; 1964 — 153, 155, 170, 177. ■ **MEADER,** Mich. (7): 1962 — RC's 18; 1963 — 133, 174; 1964 — 153, 173, 177, 190. ■ **OSTERTAG,** N.Y. (7): 1962 — RC's 18, 37, 285; 1963 — 133; 1964 — 153, 155, 177. ■ **REIFEL,** S. Dak. (7): 1961 — RC's 130, 167, 199; 1962 — 18, 178, 185; 1964 — 80. ■ **ROBISON,** N.Y. (7): 1962 — RC's 285; 1963 — 133, 174; 1964 — 152, 153, 176, 177. ■ **SILER,** Ky. (7): 1961 — RC's 33, 44, 130, 167; 1963 — 219, 220; 1964 — 12. ■ **SPRINGER,** Ill. (7): 1961 — RC's 130, 179; 1962 — 285; 1963 — 133; 1964 — 153, 173, 177. ■ **TEAGUE,** Calif. (7): 1962 — RC's 18; 1963 — 200, 219; 1964 — 153, 155, 177, 190. ■ ***WYDLER,** N.Y. (7): 1963 — RC's 133; 1964 — 80, 153, 155, 169, 170, 177. ■ **ARENDS,** Ill. (6): 1961 — RC's 130; 1962 — 18, 69; 1963 — 133; 1964 — 153, 177. ■ **FORD,** Mich. (6): 1962 — RC's 18, 241, 285; 1963 — 133; 1964 — 153, 177. ■ **HARRISON,** Wyo. (6): 1961 — RC's 46, 130, 167, 199; 1962 — 178; 1964 — 155. ■ **McINTIRE,** Maine (6): 1961 — RC's 130; 1962 — 18; 1963 — 219, 220; 1964 — 100, 190. ■ **MacGREGOR,** Minn. (6): 1961 — RC's 33, 130; 1962 — 285; 1963 — 133; 1964 — 153, 177. ■ **RIEHLMAN,** N.Y. (6):



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1962 — RC's 37, 285; 1963 — 133; 1964 — 153, 173, 177. ■ **WESTLAND,** Wash. (6): 1961 — RC's 130, 1962 — 18, 69, 178; 1964 — 155, 190. ■ **AVERY,** Kans. (5): 1961 — RC's 130, 167; 1962 18, 69, 111. ■ **BELL,** Calif. (5): 1963 — RC's 200; 1964 — 153, 155, 177, 190. ■ **BROYHILL,** Va. (5): 1962 — RC's 37, 186; 1963 — 219, 220; 1964 — 155. ■ **BYRNES,** Wis. (5): 1962 — RC's 18, 285; 1963 — 133; 1964 — 153, 190. ■ **DEROUNIAN,** N.Y. (5): 1962 — RC's 111, 285; 1964 — 155, 169, 170. ■ **ELLSWORTH,** Kans. (5): 1961 — RC's 199; 1962 — 37, 178; 1963 — 4; 1964 — 155. ■ **MOSHER,** Ohio (5): 1961 — RC's 33, 199; 1962 — 215, 285; 1964 — 173. ■ **NORBLAD,** Oreg. (5): 1961 — RC's 33, 179; 1962 — 37, 185, 285. ■ **PELLY,** Wash. (5): 1962 — RC's 37, 285; 1964 — 155, 177, 190. ■ **RHODES,** Ariz. (5): 1961 — RC's 167; 1962 — 185; 1963 — 174, 219, 220. ■ **VAN PELT,** Wis. (5): 1961 — RC's 130, 167; 1962 — 69; 1963 — 220; 1964 — 155. ■ **WILSON,** Calif. (5): 1962 — RC's 18, 285; 1963 — 219, 220; 1964 — 190. ■ **BERRY,** S. Dak. (4): 1961 — RC's 130, 167; 1962 — 69, 178. ■ ***CLEVELAND,** N.H. (4): 1963 — RC's 133, 174; 1964 — 153, 177. ■ **HARSHA,** Ohio (4): 1961 — RC's 33, 44, 130; 1963 — 237. ■ **JONAS,** N.C. (4): 1961 — RC's 130; 1963 — 219, 220; 1964 — 100. ■ **KING,** N.Y. (4): 1963 — RC's 219, 220; 1964 — 80, 155. ■ **MILLER,** N.Y. (4): 1962 — RC's 241; 1963 — 133, 219, 220. ■ **NELSEN,** Minn. (4): 1961 — RC's 130; 1964 — 153, 177, 190. ■ ***WYMAN,** N.H. (4): 1963 — RC's 219, 220; 1964 — 155, 190. ■ **YOUNGER,** Calif. (4): 1962 — RC's 18; 1964 — 80, 170, 190. ■ **ANDERSON,** Ill. (3): 1962 — RC's 69; 1963 — 200; 1964 — 155. ■ ***BROYHILL,** N.C. (3): 1963 — RC's 219, 220; 1964 — 100. ■ **CURTIS,** Mo. (3): 1961 — RC's 5; 1962 — 18; 1963 — 200. ■ **DAGUE,** Pa. (3): 1962 — RC's 285; 1964 — 169, 170. ■ **HARVEY,** Mich. (3): 1962 — RC's 18, 69; 1964 — 173. ■ **HARVEY,** Ind. (3): 1961 — RC's 75, 130; 1962 — 69. ■ **KNOX,** Mich. (3): 1961 — RC's 130; 1962 — 208; 1964 — 190. ■ **LANGEN,** Minn. (3): 1961 — RC's 14, 130; 1962 — 285. ■ **LIPSCOMB,** Calif. (3): 1963 — RC's 219, 220; 1964 — 80. ■ ***MARTIN,** Calif. (3): 1963 — RC's 219, 220; 1964 — 80. ■ ***MORTON,** Md. (3): 1963 — RC's 133; 1964 — 173, 190. ■ **POFF,** Va. (3): 1963 — RC's 219, 220; 1964 — 173. ■ **SHORT,** N. Dak. (3): 1961 — RC's 130; 1962 — 69, 178. ■ **SHRIVER,** Kans. (3): 1961 — RC's 130, 199; 1962 — 178. ■ ***WEAVER,** Pa. (3): 1964 — RC's 153, 169, 170. ■ ***ANDREWS,** N. Dak. (2): 1964 — RC's 100, 131. ■ **BATIN,** Mont. (2): 1961 — RC's 130, 167. ■ **BELCHER,** Okla. (2): 1961 — RC's 130, 167. ■ **BOW,** Ohio (2): 1962 — RC's 69; 1964 — 155. ■ ***BROCK,** Tenn. (2): 1963 — RC's 219, 220. ■ **BROWN,** Ohio (2): 1961 — RC's 130; 1964 — 80. ■ **CHAMBERLAIN,** Mich. (2): 1961 — RC's 33; 1964 — 190. ■ **GROSS,** Iowa (2): 1961 — RC's 130; 1964 — 80. ■ **JENSEN,** Iowa (2): 1961 — RC's 130; 1962 — 186. ■ **KILBURN,** N.Y. (2): 1963 — RC's 219, 220. ■ ***LLOYD,** Utah (2): 1963 — RC's 133, 200. ■ **MICHEL,** Ill. (2): 1961 — RC's 179; 1964 — 155. ■ * **QUILLEN,** Tenn. (2): 1963 — RC's 219, 220. ■ **ROUDEBUSH,** Ind. (2): 1961 — RC's 130; 1964 — 80. ■ **SCHENCK,** Ohio (2): 1963 — RC's 237; 1964 — 190. ■ ***TALCOTT,** Calif. (2): 1964 — RC's 155, 190. ■ **THOMSON,** Wis. (2): 1961 — RC's 130, 167. ■ **UTT,** Calif. (2): 1963 — RC's 219, 220 ■ **WHARTON,** N.Y. (2): 1964 — RC's 11, 12. ■ ***BAKER,** Tenn. (1): 1964 — RC 100. ■ **BECKER,** N.Y. (1): 1964 — RC 155. ■ **BETTS,** Ohio (1): 1962 — RC 18. ■ **BROMWELL,** Iowa (1): 1961 — RC 130. ■ ***BROTZMAN,** Colo. (1): 1964 — RC 80. ■ ***BURTON,** Utah (1): 1964 — RC 155. ■ ***CEDERBERG,** Mich. (1): 1964 — RC 190. ■ ***CLAUSEN,** Calif. (1): 1963 — RC 200. ■ **COLLIER,** Ill. (1): 1963 — RC 200. ■ **DERWINSKI,** Ill. (1): 1962 — RC 69. ■ **DOLE,** Kans. (1): 1961 — RC 14. ■ ***FOREMAN,** Texas (1): 1963 — RC 220. ■ **GOODLING,** Pa. (1): 1961 — RC 179. ■ **HOEVEN,** Iowa (1): 1961 — RC 130. ■ **HOFFMAN,** Ill. (1): 1964 — RC 155. ■ ***HUTCHINSON,** Mich. (1): 1964 — RC 190. ■ **KYL,** Iowa (1): 1961 — RC 130. ■ **LATTA,** Ohio (1): 1961 — RC 130. ■ ***McCLORY,** Ill. (1): 1964 — RC 80. ■ **McCULLOCH,** Ohio (1): 1964 — RC 155. ■ ***McLOSKEY,** Ill. (1): 1964 — RC 155. ■ **MARTIN,** Neb. (1): 1961 — RC 199. ■ **MINSHALL,** Ohio (1): 1964 — RC 170. ■ **PILLION,** N.Y. (1): 1962 — RC 69. ■ ***SKUBITZ,** Kans. (1): 1964 — RC 80. ■ **SMITH,** Calif. (1): 1964 — RC 155. ■ ***STINSON,** Wash. (1): 1964 — RC 190. ■ **WILSON,** Ind. (1): 1961 — RC 130.

The following did not contribute a single DMV vote: **ABELE,** Ohio; **ALGER,** Texas; **ASHBROOK,** Ohio; **BEERMAN,** Neb.; **BOLTON, O.,** Ohio; **BRUCE,** Ind.; **CLANCY,** Ohio; **CLAWSON,** Calif.; **CRAMER,** Fla.; **DEVINE,** Ohio; **FINDLEY,** Ill.; **GOODELL,** N.Y.; **GURNER,** Fla.; **HALL,** Mo.; **JOHANSEN,** Mich.; **JOHNSON,** Pa.; **LAIRD,** Wis.; **REID,** Ill.; **RICH,** Ohio; **RUMSFELD,** Ill.; **ST. GEORGE,** N.Y.; **SCHADEBERG,** Wis.; **SNYDER,** Ky.; **TAFT,** Ohio.

*Entered the 88th Congress

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What to Look for on November 4

How conservative Republicans are doing. Who's in trouble. Who seems to have it made. A rundown to keep handy for election night

M. STANTON EVANS

Despite the doom-laden utterances of pollsters and pundits, this year's elections may well confirm, for years to come, the political maturity of American conservatism.

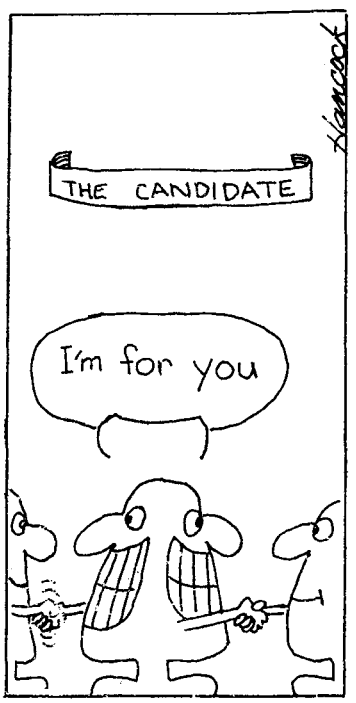
Should Senator Barry Goldwater gain election against the stacked deck of LBJ-plus-communications media, that outcome would of course mark a gigantic achievement for conservatism within the Republican Party and in the highest councils of our nation.

The Presidential race, however, is not the only contest to be decided this year. The make-up of the Federal Senate and House of Representatives, and of the party contingents within them, are also at stake. And the logic of the 1964 elections suggests that, win or lose, Goldwater's candidacy will work an immense conservatizing influence on the Republican Party. Every surface indicator suggests that the GOP, as a result of this year's election, will be much more conservative over the next quadrennium than it was over the last.

The Midwest

Republican fortunes in the Midwest will vary directly with the success of the national ticket. In **WISCONSIN**, an added Republican congressman is expected from a new district in the suburbs of Milwaukee. The candidate is former congressman Glenn Davis, a conservative and long-time Goldwater supporter. Warren Knowles is given a good chance of besting incumbent Democrat John Reynolds for the governorship, but GOP senatorial hopeful Wilbur Renk is rated an underdog against maverick Democrat William Proxmire. Among the remaining congressional races, GOP leaders John Byrnes and Melvin Laird are expected to return with ease from their neighboring districts, and standout sophomore legislator Henry Schadeberg is rated a hairline favorite in a district remapped in favor of the Democrats. **MICHIGAN** Republicans are, by all reports, in disarray, although topline conservative August Johansen should win handily in his Battle Creek district.

In **ILLINOIS**, "moderate" Charles Percy is favored by the odds-makers to replace Democratic Governor Otto Kerner. If Percy and Goldwater carry



the state, things will look good for GOP aspirant Chester Podgorski in the 11th District, and for former Congressman Emmett Byrne, seeking a comeback in the 3rd District. Conservatives will also be watching the races of standout Congressmen Harold Collier (Berwyn) John Anderson (Rockford), Bob Michel (Peoria), Don Rumsfeld (Evanston), and Paul Findley (Jacksonville).

The history of **INDIANA** politics in Presidential years is that, if the national GOP ticket wins big, the rest of the slate wins too. The senatorial hopes of Republican D. Russell Bontrager, seeking to oust Democrat Vance Hartke, will turn on the performance of Goldwater in the Hoosier state. Similarly, 35-year-old Don A. Tabbert, an able conservative out to succeed retiring Congressman Don Bruce in the 11th District, will be affected by Goldwater's showing. So will Republicans Robert Miller and John Feighner, seeking to replace Democrats John Brademas and J. Edward Roush in the 3rd and 5th Indiana districts, respectively. Among conservative Republican incumbents in the Hoosier state, Richard Roudebush (6th District), E. Ross Adair (4th District), and Ralph Harvey (10th District) are rated as favorites. Rep. Earl Wilson (9th District) is hard pressed in his rural area.

The magic name of Taft should insure a good showing for Republicans in **OHIO.** Robert A. Taft Jr. is believed far ahead of aging and erratic Democratic Senator Stephen Young. Most of Ohio's blue-ribbon congressional delegation should win with Taft, among them John Ashbrook (17th District) and Samuel Devine (Columbus).

The Plains States

The Plains States, normally a citadel of Republican strength, could be a GOP danger spot this year. Indications are that the repeated smear of Goldwater via mass magazines and television has had its effect. The result is that all Republicans are fighting hard to hold this traditional bastion. In **KANSAS**, popular Representative Robert Dole faces a strong challenge from Liberal Democrat Bill Bork and Goldwater Republican Chet Mize (2nd District) has shown surprising strength in recent weeks

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against his opponent, John Montgomery. In **NORTH DAKOTA,** GOP hopes are high that Thomas Kleppe can unhorse Liberal Democratic Senator Quentin Burdick. **NEBRASKA**'s strong conservative Republican delegation should be returned comfortably to the House, as should **IOWA**'s up-and-coming Congressman James Bromwell.

The Border States

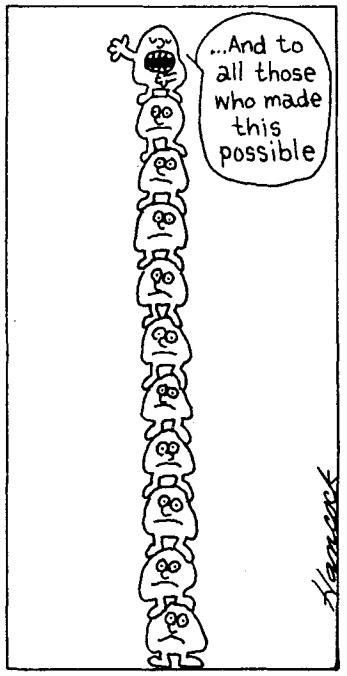
Border states **MISSOURI** and **OKLAHOMA** could yield at least one additional Republican congressman. Representatives Durward Hall and Thomas Curtis are favored to win in Missouri, and the GOP could pick up another seat as George Lange tangles with Democrat Ed Edmonson in Oklahoma's 2nd District.

The East

The most celebrated political race in the East, of course, is the senatorial contest between Kenneth Keating and Robert Kennedy in **NEW YORK.** Most soundings find the two candidates running neck and neck. Ironically, in view of Keating's notion that Goldwater is an electoral albatross, his refusal to support the national ticket could cost him the votes he needs for victory. Preliminary assessments give Conservative Party candidate Henry Paolucci up to 10 per cent of the vote—support that normally would accrue to the Republican candidate.

In **PENNSYLVANIA,** Senator Hugh Scott faces a tough race for re-election against Mrs. Genevieve Blatt. Scott has given formal assent to the Goldwater-Miller ticket, on one occasion arousing conservative fervor by the ardency of his endorsement. There are Goldwaterites, however, who believe the Scott-Scranton axis, back in June and July, did more to harm the GOP standard-bearer than Lyndon Johnson has done since. Continuing intraparty differences could therefore threaten the ticket in Pennsylvania.

In **MARYLAND,** where the regular organization has been determinedly anti-Goldwater, Senator J. Glenn Beall faces a formidable opponent in youthful Democrat Joseph Tydings, son of a powerful Democratic leader, the late Millard Tydings. The October surveys give Tydings a good chance to replace Beall in Washington.



The South

Southern Republicans are looking forward to their best showing ever. Few incumbent Republicans in the South are believed to be in danger, and a slew of articulate, conservative congressmen are expected to return to Washington. These include Joseph Broyhill and Richard Poff in **VIRGINIA,** Charles Jonas and James Broyhill in **NORTH CAROLINA,** Bill Brock in **TENNESSEE,** Bill Cramer and Ed Gurney in **FLORIDA,** Bruce Alger and Ed Foreman in **TEXAS,** Gene Snyder in **KENTUCKY.** Of the lot, Foreman and Snyder face the toughest battles for re-election. In addition, the GOP expects good things from Republican candidate Richard Obenshain in Virginia (Richmond), David Treen in Louisiana (New Orleans), and Desmond Barry in Texas (Houston). Other Republican hopefuls who could displace Democratic congressmen are Roy Errickson (Virginia), James Martin (Alabama), James Warren (Texas), Roscoe Pickett and L. J. O'Callaghan (Georgia), Robert James (Tennessee), and W. A. Armfield (N.C.). The GOP's best opportunity to pick up a Senate seat is in Lyndon Johnson's Texas, where youthful George Bush, son of former Connecticut Senator Prescott Bush, is challenging ultra-Liberal Democrat Ralph Yarborough. The outcome of this race could depend upon the showing Goldwater makes as he tackles Johnson on his native ground. Another Republican contender for the Senate is Howard Baker Jr., who clashes with Representative Ross Bass for the Tennessee senatorial seat held by the late Estes Kefauver.

The West

In general, the Western half of the nation is a crucial battleground for the two "Westerners," Goldwater and Johnson. In **CALIFORNIA,** former actor George Murphy has all but closed the gap which had expatriate Pierre Salinger out front in the contest for the late Clair Engle's Senate seat. A pair of Wilkinsons—educator Ernest Wilkinson of **UTAH,** football coach Bud Wilkinson of **OKLAHOMA**—have excellent chances to increase GOP representation in the upper chamber. In **NEW MEXICO,** conservative Republican Senator Edwin Mechem faces a stiff challenge from Liberal Congressman Joseph Montoya. Republican John Wold is a slight favorite to unseat far-left Democrat Gale McGee, recipient of outstate pacifist and pressure group assistance, in **WYOMING.** Lt. Gov. Paul Laxalt is given a chance to unhorse Democratic Senator Howard Cannon in **NEVADA,** and Governor Paul Fannin should succeed Presidential candidate Goldwater as **ARIZONA**'s junior senator. Among "new breed" conservative congressmen **MONTANA**'s James Battin is viewed as a good bet for re-election. **WASHINGTON**'s Bill Stinson has a battle on his hands, however, as do Del Clawson and several other GOP legislators in **CALIFORNIA.**

The Net Effect

The major problem confronting Republicans in all parts of the country is the massive blitzkrieg against Goldwater in the communications media. If the falsehood that Goldwater means "war" has been successfully sold to the American people, the result could be trouble across the board—for Liberal and conservative Republicans alike. This would be an ironic result for self-styled GOP "moderates" who promoted the line that Goldwater was

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a Dr. Strangelove type as they sought to deny his nomination at San Francisco. The falsehoods they launched in May and June have returned to haunt them in November.

On balance, Republican prospects seem generally weakest in the areas where the "moderates" are most prominent—the Northeastern and Atlantic States and such inland pockets of GOP Liberalism as George Romney's Michigan providing the most obvious examples.

Conversely, the Republican cause is strongest in those areas where Goldwater is strongest—the South, the Midwest, and the Rocky Mountain States. For the first time in this century, Republican candidates throughout Dixie are given a good chance at winning, while the GOP's best chance of replacing sitting Democrats is the Midwest and the Rockies. The net effect of these tendencies—GOP attrition in the Northeast and GOP advance in the South and West—would be to augment the already notable conservatism of the national party.

For Senator from New York

W. H. VON DREELE

In 1961, Americans for Constitutional Action awarded Senator Kenneth Keating their Distinguished Service Award. Recently, Americans for Democratic Action awarded him an 88 per cent "right" voting record in the Senate. Were they talking about the same man? Yes indeed. For the question Keating routinely asks himself come November 3rd is not What do I believe? It is, rather, What do they want to hear? Then he tells them.

This year, he's been telling them with a vigor which stems from vast financial resources. And Thomas E. Dewey is helping, and Herbert Brownell has returned, and Rockefeller is going full throttle. The bus ads, the TV and radio spots, the "Democrats for Keating" fronts shoot up like toadstools. Senator Jacob Javits is out stumping for Keating with an intensity which suggests that a loss to Democratic challenger Robert F. Kennedy would be decisive. Which it would. Their fright has been summed up baldly by columnists Evans and Novak: "Without a Republican base in Albany, chances for the Republican Liberals to dethrone the Goldwaterites at the 1968 convention would decline."

All of which makes glorious reading for New York conservatives, be they Smith Democrats or mainstream Republicans. This year, they have a senatorial candidate, too. He is Professor Henry Paolucci, and he is traveling about the state on a schedule so interspersed with half-hour TV interviews that the unwary mistake him for the high-priced spreads. But only for a moment. For Mr. Paolucci has been trumpeting a Conservative Party choice whose echoes are bouncing off the walls of both Democratic and Republican headquarters. And his choices are spiced with that most rare of political condiments, candor.

Forced School Bussing

Consider the candor of the three candidates on forced public school bussing. In New York City, an "open enrollment" policy permits voluntary student transfers from one school to another—with the sole proviso that applicants are either Negro or Puerto Rican. Also in New York City, a "pairing" policy forces, by law, the bussing of selected students from their neighborhood schools to schools sometimes miles away, to obtain better racial balance.

Parents caught in this squeeze have been in a permanent state of outrage. What do the candidates offer? Kennedy is strictly hands-off. Keating touches both bases: he is 1) "opposed to compulsory bussing of children long distances from their neighborhoods," but 2) "as everyone knows, I am a strong advocate of racial integration in the schools." Only Paolucci goes to the issue's core. "The terrible thing is that some parents are being forced to seat their children, because of color, in the very school seats from which other parents, because of color, can voluntarily remove theirs. Never have we had a more flagrant abuse of civil rights, with the children the direct victims."

Paolucci's stand is not a campaign maneuver. It is settled Conservative Party doctrine. The Party has fought for the neighborhood school with parents' groups in the courts, in the superintendent's office, and at City Hall. Professor Paolucci says he is "proud to be the candidate of the only political party in New York State which has taken an unequivocal position in favor of the neighborhood school."

There's another vital issue knocking about, but it's not perfumed for voter excitement. It is called "reapportionment." In a recent case, the U. S. Supreme Court willed that both upper and lower houses of state legislatures must be based on population. "One man, one vote" was the way the Chief Justice phrased it, recalling similar statements from various developing African nations. This decision makes all states the creatures of their population centers. Unless overturned by the states themselves through a constitutional amendment, Illinois will be Cook County; Hudson and Essex will dominate New Jersey, while New York will submit to its southern population mass. What say the candidates?

Kennedy goes all the way with the Court. Keating, as usual, yaws wildly around the buoy. While in Congress he voted against all efforts to curb the Court; while on the hustings he's for a weighted upper house. Henry Paolucci, alone, was livid from the start. He supported Justice Harlan, who said that the Court's action "amounts to nothing less than an exercise of the amending power by this court." He supports a constitutional amendment, now, to withdraw federal jurisdiction over the apportionment of state legislatures. "Unless the court is checked," he says, "this all-out assault on our rural areas will precipitate the decline of our republican form of government."

Finally, who's supporting Barry Goldwater for President? Not Kennedy, naturally. Not Kenneth Keating. (His "never" in a *Herald Tribune* story shocked party regulars.) That leaves Henry Paolucci.

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Report on California

The Backlash May Do It

MORRIE RYSKIND

It was grass-roots dedication and the backlash—not the ordinary kind—that turned the tide for Goldwater in California's all-important primary and won over the superior dollars and guns of the Establishment's GOP wing, which was openly abetted by the shock troops of the supposedly opposite camp.

Never, indeed, in political history have so many Democrats attempted to influence a Republican primary. Cartoonists Conrad and Herblock, pundits Walter Lippmann and Walter Cronkite, Huntley and Brinkley, Drew Pearson and Howard K. Smith all forgot partisanship as they valiantly strove to prevent the party from committing political suicide by nominating Goldwater. Both Barry and his followers were depicted as combining the worst features of Caligula, Nero, the Borgias, Ivan the Terrible, Hitler, the Black Plague and— even worse—the Pure White Plague.

But the miracle occurred. It was, I firmly believe, the backlash from this venomous volley of verbal vituperation that stiffened the spines of the undermanned Goldwater forces and brought them victory both at the primary and at the Cow Palace.

What is needed now, to face the situation squarely, is an even bigger miracle. Here is an attempt to evaluate the major currents and cross-currents and to list the imponderables in each.

First, there is the ominous fact that Democratic registration here is at an all-time high and now outnumbers the GOP figure by a staggering 1,500,000. Those are bigger odds than Dick Nixon, a favorite son, had to overcome when he won the state by 35,000 in 1960. And Nixon had every segment of his party with him: there was no Sen. Kuchel playing dog in the manger then.

COPE, Labor's good left hand, has unquestionably been a big factor here. I have many complaints from Republican union members who bitterly resent that union money—no matter how "voluntarily" and/or "legally" obtained—should be used to promote the candidacy of LBJ. Their guesses as to the sums range from $2 million to $5 million going, one way or another, to the Demos here.

I am told that unionists—and their wives—have been paid as organizers, doorbell ringers and even as deputy registrars. The latter job is highly important, for California law now makes the registrar practically the sole judge of a voter's literacy: and it is dollars to doughnuts that many who can just sign their name but who wouldn't know a bond issue from a railroad time-table have now been enrolled as Democrats. On Election Day they will be handed marked sample ballots to show them where to put the necessary X.

Black ink: many pro-Barry unionists, under COPE's watchful eye, have found it expedient to register as Democrats though they will vote for the GOP team. There may be enough of them to create an upset.

The Press

In L.A. the *Times,* pro-Rocky in the primary, has finally endorsed Barry; the *Herald Examiner,* part of the Hearst chain, came out for LBJ, but is for George Murphy for senator against Salinger; and it is no secret that George Hearst, the publisher, is personally for Barry though forced to go along with the Hearst policy nominally. In San Diego, two important papers back BMG. And there are all sorts of smaller community papers—*e.g.,* the *Hollywood Citizen News,* the *Santa Monica Outlook,* the *San Marino Tribune*—backing the Arizonan.

Don't underrate these smaller sheets: they had a great impact in the primaries. When Norris Poulson was defeated for re-election as Mayor of Los Angeles, the big papers were for him: Sam Yorty turned to the community papers—and won.

But Northern California is another story. In San Francisco, I don't remember one kind word for Barry in the local sheets. Bill Knowland's Oakland paper was the only big-town daily on the Goldwater bandwagon. Again, here the hope lies in the smaller papers of the grass-roots.

As for the Negro community, the situation here is about what it is in the labor unions. Those who are for Barry dare not speak up. Like the colored delegate—from a state I obviously can't reveal—at San Francisco who told us: "I'm all for Barry, but if I vote for him, I'll be crucified."

One colored editor in L.A. wrote a pro-Goldwater piece and the next day—sheer coincidence—had his windows smashed.

Reinhold Niebuhr, the *Christian Century,* the United Church of Christ, Rabbi Joachim Prinz and the hierarchy of sundry other groups—mainly Methodist, Episcopalian and Presbyterian—all made the news by announcing a new revelation: the Lord has registered as a Democrat in this campaign and has ordered his shepherds to take to the pulpits and the hustings against Barry. And the Liberal clergy promptly accepted the revelation as gospel and placed the Democratic donkey on an equal footing with the Cross and the Star of David.

And this has resulted in a backlash that is real and tangible. Angered communicants and pastors have denounced this commingling of the things which are Caesar's and the things that are God's. One clergyman is busily organizing a group of 1,000 ministers who will protest turning the pulpit into a soapbox and who will announce themselves—not *ex cathedra,* but as individuals—as a Committee for Goldwater.

And Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin, dean of California's Reform Rabbinate, has openly branded Rabbi Prinz' call for "a solid Jewish vote" against Goldwater as "un-American and un-Jewish!" Two other prominent rabbis have joined in this denunciation, as has a local Jewish weekly.

Well, there they are: the pluses and minuses—and the intangibles beyond the ouija boards of the pollsters. Every time I add them I get a different sum: like the rest of you I won't be certain of the actual score until the votes have been counted.

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The Open Question

A Defense of Moral Re-Armament, And a Reply to Russell Kirk

JOHN McCOOK ROOTS and BASIL ENTWISTLE

NATIONAL REVIEW's masthead bears the inscription, "A Journal of Fact and Opinion." In even the most responsible publication Fact may sometimes suffer at the hands of Opinion, but in the case of Russell Kirk's caricature of Moral Re-Armament in the September 22 issue, it has literally been done to death.

At the outset Mr. Kirk sets the tone of cynical contempt for truth which permeates his article. He refers to Peter Howard, who since Dr. Frank Buchman's death has been in charge of Moral Re-Armament's world advance, as "formerly a gay blade in London." His countrymen would be unlikely to recognize in this phrase the internationally-known English author, playwright and political columnist described this year by the *Oregon Journal* as "a man who evidently knows the world better than most of us know the suburbs," whose books have sold four million copies in a dozen languages.

Mr. Kirk's later statements are equally divorced from reality. For instance:

The only documentation he offers for his numerous smears is a 30-year-old autobiography by a notably erratic Anglican bishop. This ecclesiastic had even less contact with MRA than apparently Mr. Kirk has had, and was content to draw his information from what he called at the time a "trustworthy source." In a book just published (*The Open Secret of MRA*, Blandford, London) the Reverend J. P. Thornton-Duesbery, Master of St. Peter's College, Oxford, tells how this "trustworthy source," after being sentenced to three years' hard labor for a morals offense, was tactfully omitted by the Bishop from the second edition of his work.

Mr. Kirk states that "occasionally some public man long past his prime (such as it was) is enticed into some endorsement of the movement." Does he include in this category Chancellor Adenauer of Germany, Foreign Minister Schuman of France, former Prime Minister Kishi of Japan, President Chiang Kai-shek of Free China, the late President Magsaysay of the Philippines and the present Shah of Iran, all of whom, while in office, have placed on record their considered appreciation of Moral Re-Armament? Kirk accuses MRA of "extravagant claims wholly unjustified in fact." How then does he explain the fact that Frank Buchman, to whom he refers as the creator of Moral Re-Armament, was decorated by eight countries?

Mr. Kirk has his own fantastic notions about the "theology" of Moral Re-Armament, but many who respect the Church would prefer the judgment of the present Archbishop of Boston, Cardinal Cushing. In his foreword to Peter Howard's current best seller, *Design for Dedication* (published by Regnery and now in its third 100,000), the Cardinal writes of Howard's speeches, "They point a leadership that could preserve faith and freedom for millions."

It is a cheap game to pepper an article with innuendoes. Kirk has the effrontery to refer to MRA's "Hitler period." Who is he to insult the thousands of MRA men who bore arms against the Nazi tyranny, and the hundreds who died fighting it, by retailing this hoary lie? Has he never heard of the secret Gestapo directive which condemned MRA as "the Christian garment for world democratic aims," and ordered its supporters liquidated?

The author's belittling of Moral Re-Armament's appeal to youth will scarcely sit well with the 2,400 college and high school students who attended the Conference for Tomorrow's America at Mackinac Island this summer. To General Lewis B. Hershey, head of Selective Service, and representatives of the Army, Air Force and State Department who addressed the Conference, as well as to the mayors and university and school heads who also spoke, his ignorant jibes may appear dangerously irresponsible in the light of present conditions in the nation.

As for Mr. Kirk's "rich old ladies," what contributors' list in the country, from the Cancer Fund and YWCA to the Metropolitan Opera—and even the NATIONAL REVIEW—does not owe something to their generosity? In the case of MRA, however, 64 per cent of last year's gifts, and 85 per cent of the previous year's were under $100. The "immense sums" Mr. Kirk alleges are spent on advertising represent in fact less than four per cent of MRA's total budget for 1963—and the total itself is less than the expenditures of the rival candidates in this year's Republican California primary. Where else has such a modest sum produced a force which Moscow (*Kommunist*, March 1963) describes as "certainly the most prominent association which aims to save Western civilization from Communism"?

As many are now beginning to realize, the true cause of American policy failures abroad is our lack of an ideological force, trained in the moral disciplines and purposes of democracy and capable of providing in emergent nations, as well as in our own, a cure to corruption, a focus for unity, and a dynamic alternative to the Communist crusade. Would not Mr. Kirk better serve his country by helping to produce such a force, rather than by sabotaging the efforts of those who are making the attempt?

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Letter from London

Harold Wilson's Dilemma

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

That the Socialists should have won the General Election is, of course, lamentable; lamentable for Britain and lamentable for Britain's allies. But no one should underrate the extent of the Conservative achievement. Only a few months ago, all the polls and indeed most ordinary people and certainly all Socialists were predicting a massive Labor majority of 100 seats or more. The majority in fact is tiny; too small, we may hope, for the Labor government to impose any hard-core Socialist legislation.

Some Conservatives may blame Sir Alec Douglas-Home for not having won the election, but I should have thought this great recovery, compared with the situation when he took office, must be, at least to some extent, a tribute to him, and that the result will strengthen, rather than destroy, his leadership of the Party. He was probably wrong, from the point of view of pure electoral tactics, to stress the defense issue (that is, that Britain should keep her independent nuclear deterrent), when the voters were preoccupied with domestic matters: but it was a not ignoble error.

Had Mr. Khrushchev been "relieved of his posts" or the Chinese exploded their bomb a few days earlier, it might have swung the tide, by the necessary fraction, towards the Tories. I doubt it though. The Tories had the best of the argument anyway. There was clearly no enthusiasm for Socialism: few people want more nationalization. On such issues as welfare payments and land prices, where the Labor Party probably scored, the voters were swayed by emotion, envy and plain frustration rather than by reason. The Labor Party's program for land, which involves widespread compulsory purchase and a grabbing of profits by the government, offers no prospect of lowering the price which purchasers will have to pay for plots or houses: all it does is promise to punish those who have recently been making big profits.

The Socialists promised to destroy Britain's ancient Grammar Schools and Public Schools. No one seriously believes that such vandalism could improve the standard of education: but it would hit those who now enjoy a better than average education and would disguise the inferiority of those who are not up to Grammar School standard.

The mainstream argument, however, concerned general economic policy; the fact that productivity hasn't grown as much as the fashionable economists say it should, and that Britain's bill ominously exceeds her profits from exports. Prices meanwhile, have continued to climb. The blame lies substantially with the labor unions and with the immoderate

growth of government expenditure. There is no reason at all to suppose that the Socialists could more effectively tackle either problem. Quite the contrary. But the government being the government, has taken the blame, and the leftist commentators, being leftist, have constantly suggested the sort of remedies which match Socialist economic theory and suit Mr. Wilson's *dirigiste* attitude rather than Sir Alec's more easy-going style.

The conclusive argument can scarcely be called an argument at all. It was the endlessly repeated sentiment that "it's time for a change." The Conservatives had been in power for thirteen years: a feeling of restlessness, the accumulation of discontents, was probably inevitable. It caused the defection of large numbers of middleclass voters, and helped to give the Liberal Party massive nuisance-value. Neither the middleclass defectors nor the new Liberals (though the Liberal Party has moved leftwards recently) have any fondness for Socialism, but they had become, for the moment, incorrigibly anti-Conservative. This swing, being irrational, could not be rationally countered, and it proved irresistible.

Such a swing, such a sentiment, might be quite tolerable and even healthy if the political parties were, as it is customary to pretend they are, simply respectable alternatives. But a Socialist Party, by definition, is not just a respectable alternative. It seeks to destroy and change the whole fabric of society. Much of what it does cannot afterwards be undone. Britain's Conservative governments have been forced to retain the structure of high taxation and welfarism created by the 1945 Labor Government.

To me the most extraordinary thing about the Party program during this election is that no one promised, or even hinted remotely at, tax cuts. On the contrary, spokesmen for all parties said there could be no prospect of tax cuts in the foreseeable future, and competed in their promises of higher and wider government spending. That promises of additional government spending should now, rightly or wrongly, be considered absolutely more attractive than the promise of tax cuts shows the pervasive effect of leftist thinking.

Mr. Wilson is by instinct not just Socialist but a radical Socialist. His friends are on the left wing of the Party. The wild leftwingers kept remarkably quiet throughout the campaign, for fear of frightening the electorate and in hope of sweets to come. The fantastic narrowness of the Socialist majority has probably deprived them of that hope. Mr. Wilson's government will need to tread very cautiously, knowing that there will almost certainly have to be another election before long. The commentators who wanted Mr. Wilson to have a free hand in directing the economy deplore this need for caution: I, and I suspect a large majority of the electorate, including many who did not vote Conservative, will be immensely relieved.

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Can the Railroads Be Saved?

Yes, says the author, after surveying the railway situation in 25 countries, if the government will only treat the RRs as it does the other carriers

JAMES N. SITES

City traffic jams, overcrowded air lanes, train discontinuances and carrier financial crises are some of the ominous indicators of a colossal transportation muddle in which people in the United States and other industrialized nations bog down a little deeper every day. Moreover, the developing nations of the world seem to be heading in the same direction.

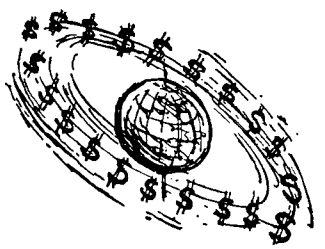
U.S. Government units alone now spend nearly $15 billion each year for roads, water and air development programs. These outlays have more than doubled in the past ten years and are still rising. And the irony remains: *The more government spends, the worse the problem becomes.*

It was this baffling picture of a hurricane blowing around the U.S. transport industry, with railroads caught in the eye, that in mid-1961 sent my Norwegian-born wife, Inger, and me half way around the world on a year-long search for causes of the transportation muddle and for clues to the transport future. This study mission took us through 25 countries from Europe through the Middle East to India and Russia. We rode trains, planes, ocean liners, rowboats, even elephants. We talked with officials of all forms of transportation.

The results were striking. Action on government policies is taking place in such disparate countries as Britain and Russia, India and Yugoslavia, Ireland and Israel. In addition, the whole family of nations making up the European Economic Community is developing a new format of common transport policies to serve the rapidly integrating continent.

We found that railroads in particular and transport systems in general are in trouble everywhere. And the major reason lies in a booming motorization drive around the world, which has upended the old patterns of land commerce. The number of motor vehicles in West Europe, for example, multiplied four times in the 1950s—and there's no slowdown in sight.

On the freight front, almost everywhere except behind the Iron Curtain, the truck has steadily bored into the now-long-gone railroad monopoly, eating away at the railroads' highest-profit traffic. The reaction of railroadmen has varied from lethargic to explosive. Depending on both local transport conditions and the response of governments to these dynamic



competitive changes, railroad fortunes have varied from barely hanging on to booming. Yet the question arises: *Can railroads survive this difficult new competitive era?*

The answer from overseas is an emphatic *yes* . . . and then some.

Only in Northern Ireland did officials admit that because of unusually high operating costs resulting from light loads and short hauls, railroading will be abandoned entirely one day.

In Holland and Switzerland, on the other hand, railroads are not only in excellent condition but are making money (if you overlook the fact they pay no taxes). And this on a continent where railroading swims in a veritable sea of financial red ink! In India, where railroads carry the overwhelming load of economic expansion and hope for a better future, they are among the most profitable anywhere. And in Russia, a super-railroad of awesome proportions and performance is in the making.

Behind these varying fortunes lie vast differences in the ways governments regulate, tax and subsidize railroads and competing trucks, buses, airplanes and inland shipping. These differences show up sharply in comparisons between the United States and other countries as a group. For instance, major differences between government transportation policies in the United States and West Europe generally can be summarized as follows:

1) European railroads have been allowed to shape their system into integrated area networks (as if each region of the U.S. had a single railroad). There is thus little competition between rail systems, only end-to-end cooperation—though there is intense and growing competition with other forms of transport.

2) European cities place first emphasis on rail transit in meeting urban traffic problems, while roads and autos come first in the U.S.

3) Europe's rail passenger fares and freight rates are never expected to cover both the railroad's operating and capital costs and tax contributions to government; there are few, if any, property taxes on European railroads.

4) Where European governments require railroads to perform services at a loss, special public contributions are increasingly being made to compensate the railroad in order to "rationalize its accounts."

5) European railroads have greater freedom to use trucks and buses to supplement rail service and as substitutes when rail lines are abandoned.

6) There is far less regulation of railroad freight rates in Europe, and railroads have a large measure of freedom to negotiate long-term contracts with shippers for traffic at special reductions.

7) Truck freight rates are rarely controlled by governments abroad.

8) Europe is more restrictive on truck capacity than the U.S., however,

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limiting truck numbers as well as individual companies.

9) European governments are much more conscious of the inter-relationship—the unity—of all forms of transport; unlike the U.S., most countries weigh the impact on all carriers of investment programs for each.

U.S. Tax Disadvantage

The difference in tax treatment of railroad systems hits the observer perhaps hardest of all. If U.S. and European railroads were on the same tax basis, U.S. railroads would be relieved of paying government some $600,000,000 in taxes a year. If U.S. freight rates and passenger fares did not have to cover such a huge contribution to general government purposes, U.S. railroads would not be losing so much traffic to other carriers. Or if such a sum could be channeled internally into essential improvements of plant and equipment, it would nearly double the scope of present U.S. rail modernization programs.

Here are some of our specific findings:

In Great Britain a full-blown storm has been raging around the nation's carriers. Some $380 million were poured out by Parliament in 1961 alone to cover the railroads' deficit, as $1.20 was paid out for every $1.00 taken in.

To Dr. Richard Beeching, who came from Imperial Chemical Industries in June of 1961 to head up the British Transport Commission, has fallen the awesome task of updating this railroad, described as a "Victorian-age relic." His ideas include closing half the passenger stations and drastic cutbacks in little-used trackage; 50 per cent of the mileage is handling 10 per cent of the traffic. As much as one-half of the "halfway prehistoric" freight car fleet may be scrapped. Commensurate cuts must also be made in manpower. These moves are elements in a new political storm in British transport.

Crossing the Irish Sea to Dublin, we found another transport policy debate, as well as a striking example of the concept of diversification in transportation — ownership under a single management of a rail system, trucks, buses and barges. With steep growth in highway hauling, rail deficits in Ireland had so worsened in recent years that proposals were aired to abandon the railroad completely. Then in 1958, Parliament gave the government-owned Irish Transport Company an almost free hand to reshape the transport structure and offer services by rail, road or water, whichever best suited customer needs.

The result: the railroad is now being sharply pared down in light-traffic rural areas and modernized on the high-volume main routes between major cities. Trucks and buses, in turn, are picking up the short-haul business where rails are torn up. And over-all service has never been better, or costs so low.

Control Measures

The record in these two nations points up how governments everywhere attempt to relate the supply and price of transport facilities to the service demands of shippers and travelers by various control measures, including these:

1) Influencing the build-up of capacity by coordinating and apportioning the capital investment going into basic facilities (the simple, highly effective instrument favored by Communist states), and by regulating "right of entry" of companies into the field, the number of vehicles they use or the range and type of vehicle operations.

2) Controlling the end-product prices charged by carriers (the major control instrument wielded by U.S. agencies).

3) Subsidizing selected operators, thus reducing their costs and prices in relation to competitors and promoting their expansion.

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (October 20)

Clemens and Warner
THE GILDED AGE

In a free country like ours, where any man can run for Congress and anybody can vote for him, you can't expect immortal purity all the time—it ain't in nature. Sixty or eighty or a hundred and fifty people are bound to get in who are not angels in disguise.

4) Taxing selected operators, thus raising their relative prices and retarding their expansion.

Because these approaches are seldom planned rationally for the transport industry as an *entity*, their application is generally accompanied by a loud grinding and clashing of gears.

Holland proved an exception in our survey. There, controls over truck numbers are exercised as a fine art. Each year a public group studies economic trends, decides how much extra transport capacity is needed to handle coming traffic demands, then gives out permits for higher truck numbers accordingly (or restricts these in slack times). In the U.S., by contrast, once a truck operator gets government permission to carry certain goods over certain routes, he can use anywhere from one to one thousand vehicles.

West Germany has had a law for ten years tightly limiting to 26,000 the number of for-hire trucks operating more than 50 kilometers from home base. Truckers denounce this policy as designed to protect the giant government railroad. Railroads say it has protected truckers themselves against destructive competition from each other.

India Thinks Twice

Experts in India, fearful of eventually running into the same road-rail competitive troubles as in the West, are discussing imposing similar legal limitations on truck operations in order to divide transport spheres between rail and road. The most challenging thinking of all we encountered, however, held that such a division could come about best not by rigid rules but by natural economic pressures and user choices, *once all carriers are put on an equal cost and tax basis and allowed the maximum freedom to compete on prices and services.*

Norway stands out in this regard. In mid-1961, its parliament levied a kilometer tax on all large trucks and buses, thereby relating their tax payments more precisely to their actual use of roads and the extra costs they impose on road construction and maintenance. The truck owner pays for each kilometer driven, with the tax rate rising with vehicle size and weight. Because truckers offering for-hire services to the general public

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must meet obligations not borne by businesses using trucks to haul their own products, a higher tax schedule is applied to such "own account" trucks.

French policymakers outlined an unusual method they use to equalize cost conditions between trucks using publicly provided highways and the railroads which build and repair track out of their own revenues. Official studies disclosed that despite gasoline prices of around 75 cents per gallon, trucks still pay only 60 per cent of their share of road repair costs. Reluctant to boost truck taxation, the government decided instead to grant the railroad an annual sum covering 40 per cent of railway maintenance costs.

Government Subsidies

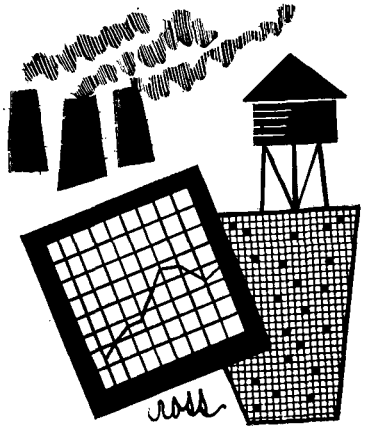
Government spending for transport purposes has been shown everywhere to be the big booster that can push favored carriers far out in front of others not so aided. While public development of roads and domestic air facilities overseas has lagged behind the U.S., governments pay out $2.5 billion annually in West Europe alone to cover just the nationalized rail systems' operating deficits. In the U.S. by contrast, while government outlays for road, air and water facilities now total $15 billion annually, nothing comparable is spent on railroads.

In Russia, as a result of hardheaded Kremlin decisions that railroading yields the most transport for the least investment, the railroad gets the lion's share of expansion funds. It handles 75 per cent of passenger travel between cities and a massive 90 per cent of the intercity freight volume (compared to 3 and 43 per cent, respectively, in the U.S.). Trucks and buses are used primarily in local services and to supplement long rail hauls. Not all transport problems are in hand at the Kremlin, nevertheless. Deputy Railroad Minister Vladimir Gavrilov revealed in Moscow that there have been rising disputes over transport plans among bureaucrats representing the different carriers. A special Transport Coordinating Commission was set up in early 1962 to iron out disputes and come up with common policies.

While America and other motorized nations worry about coping with railway construction, *line expansion* is the keynote both behind the Iron Curtain and in the newly industrializing nations of the Free World. India, for example, laid down 2,000 miles of track in the 1950s, and hopes to build thousands more.

This underscores how the developing nations are still at the stage of creating mainline networks. West Europe and the U.S., conversely, overbuilt their rail systems and now must cut back—because tracks were laid before the auto was born and in many places where roads can handle the transport job more effectively than rails.

If any one word could be used to sum up inland transport problems around the world, that word is *change*. Railroads have had to make drastic internal changes to adapt plant and services to the snowballing external changes brought by the twentieth century. And governments must allow the carriers to go on making even



greater changes. The grim alternatives are either collapse into bankruptcy where railroads remain privately owned—or even greater deficits for taxpayers to shoulder where railroads are public owned.

What, then, can be done by the U.S. or any nation faced with transport disorganization and pyramiding waste in this vital area?

The choice of solution before the U.S. Government, as well as others, is to control or not to control—to achieve equality of treatment of competing carriers by extending government regulation and subsidies to those areas of transportation now free of these, or by withdrawing regulation and subsidies from those areas already covered.

In a dynamic, highly diversified economy like the U.S., only the latter choice is a practical proposition. The same is true in West Europe, in the opinion especially of the experts now hammering out similar transport policies for the Common Market. Otherwise, transportation and ultimately the economy as a whole will almost certainly bog down in procedural delays and an overblown regulatory bureaucracy.

Specific Changes Needed

To attain the kind of a unified, balanced transport network which would include the low-cost, mass-producing super-railroads so essential to the needs of exploding populations and expanding industries, railroadmen everywhere must be allowed to implement this kind of action:

1) Eliminate light-traffic, high-cost lines and unneeded duplicate routes—stripping railroading down to the trunk and main limbs of the transport tree and consolidating multiple stations, shops, yards and other facilities.

2) Create a smoothly interconnecting road-rail transfer system (such as "piggybacking" of truck trailers on flatcars) to assemble and feed traffic to volume rail routes, and deliver rail shipments door-to-door, making railroads competitive on service as well as price.

3) Undertake research programs to develop new equipment to attract customers and build more efficiency into operations.

4) Invest heavily to automate and mechanize mainline services and step up worker productivity.

5) Reduce prices to reflect the new railroad's rising economies and to attract volume shipments.

There is nothing particularly mysterious about what governments should do to clear the way for these essential changes. Political leaders everywhere are beginning to recognize that legal and procedural systems designed to deal with a single-carrier monopoly have become anachronistic and unworkable in face of the growth of multi-carrier competition—that no hotly competitive industry can exist half regulated and half uncontrolled, half subsidized and half self-supporting. They are recognizing, above all, the imperative necessity in all government programs and actions of treating all carriers alike.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Reading Reform

A good many people write to this commentator, inquiring where they can learn about plans for improving reading - instruction in schools. I commend to them a most energetic and intelligent association called the Reading Reform Foundation (36 West 44th Street, New York 36). This body had its origin in 1961, but now exerts a beneficent influence all across these United States.

Kirk

Every sensible person knows that the arts of reading, spelling, and writing have been taught and learnt less well than they should be, for the past generation. Anyone whose memories extend back to the late twenties or early thirties, say, must be aware of this decline within his own family. Your servant acquired his ability to read and spell before John Dewey's portcullis fell. My sister, seven years younger, was unable to master these skills fully: the approaches to true literacy had been barred by the zealots of the "look-say" or "configuration-contour" method of recognition-reading. The Reading Reform Foundation is endeavoring to restore the "phonics" method—which, ever since some Phoenician invented the alphabet, has been the only sound approach to reading.

'Look-Say' vs. *'Phonics'*

Early last August, the Foundation held its third annual conference, a most interesting affair. These people are making headway against the sullen opposition of an archaic "Progressivism." The District of Columbia schools returned to phonics three years ago. Boston adopted phonics this year. California has resumed the only genuine approach to reading. Philadelphia is moving that way. The New York State Board of Regents, last year, resolved that alphabet-phonics should be taught from the very commencement of reading. But Mr. Watson Washburn, president of the Foundation, has something of a feud with Dr. Calvin Gross—who recognizes the primacy of reading-improvement as a means to the restoration of accomplishment in the schools, yet has declined to give up the fallacies of "look-say."

The Foundation's principal speaker at this year's conference was the redoubtable Dr. Max Rafferty, superintendent of public instruction of the state of California, always a witty speaker. I quote from his address "The New English":

> It remained for the Progressive Educationists to resurrect hieroglyphics. The teacher will arm herself with a rather large "flash card" on which will be a picture of a monkey with his tail hanging down one side of the card. Under the picture will be printed the word "monkey." Now, previous generations of Americans would have tackled the problem by first learning the alphabet and the possible sounds of each letter. Next, they would have learned how to combine letters into syllables, discovering in the process that the first syllable in the particular word under discussion can be used also in many other words, including delightful ones like "money." Finally, they would have combined "mon" and "key," and that would have been that.
>
> But not under the Configuration-Contour method. Here the child will gaze hypnotically at the flash card in order to memorize the *appearance* of the word. Then he will close his eyes and try to remember how the word looks. The next step is to draw a picture of the word on paper with his pencil. He practices "drawing" the word until it is at least recognizable to the teacher. Finally he is given certain "clues" to help him remember what the word looks like. The word "monkey," for instance, starts out on a plateau, with the first three letters of equal height. Then comes a mountain peak in the middle, and a tail hanging down at the end just like the tail on the monkey. As a result, every time the child comes across a six-letter word with a plateau at the beginning, a mountain peak in the middle, and a tail hanging down at the end, he knows the word will be "monkey."
>
> Oh, it's perfectly possible to learn to read under this "look-say" system, as it is popularly called. A lot of children do—a good many, alas, not very well, but enough to get by. But there's one thing for certain: they will never, in a thousand years, learn how to *spell* worth a plugged nickel.

There's "Configuration - Contour" for you in a nutshell, gentle reader.

Present System Tested

The Reading Reform Foundation people are practical folk. In the New York parks, recently, several of them —headed by a Canadian teacher— tested at random some 89 children of primary-school age, to find how well they could read. They asked them to read two sentences—the first composed of words ordinarily included in basic readers, the second of words infrequently encountered in such manuals: 1) Mother will not like me to play games in my big red hat; 2) Mike fed some nuts and figs to his tame rat.

The child-volunteers did well with neither sentence, but wretchedly with the second; they could not transfer their pictograph, "look-say" concept of "games" to "tame," for instance. As the testers conclude, "These results prove that current methods of teaching reading are unsuccessful. Some educators and publishers of reading texts claim that if a child can read *red,* he can also read the word *fed* by substituting the initial consonant. This plausible theory is disastrous in practice, as the attached tabulation of errors demonstrates." Only four children made no errors.

To the distress of President Kennedy and others, a considerable proportion of the young men drafted into the armed forces are quite illiterate; but many of these are teachable, if properly instructed. If they can learn as adults, why could they not have acquired reading-skills when children? Yes, they could have —but not under the regime of Progressivism. The Reading Reform Foundation deserves all the support it can attract.

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The Identity of the West

FRANK S. MEYER

In *The Might of the West*, Lawrence Brown has made a most impressive contribution to the understanding of the history of Western civilization and of the crisis of the twentieth century. Challenging the accepted assumptions of received historical opinion by its forthright rejection of historical egalitarianism, it is not likely to be very well received. But then, this is not the first time in human experience that an immense gulf has existed between the true scholars of the epoch and those who succeed in imposing upon society as intellectual leaders. It has happened before that the accepted norms of "educated" opinion are solidly based upon fallacies, long painstakingly exposed by the best thought of the age. But in this respect our age is one of the worst; in the whole area of thought about the nature and destiny of men, about their relations with each other, about their political, social and economic institutions, the greater part of what is taught in our schools and colleges, and preached through our omnipresent communications media, is decades behind the work of serious scholarship.

One could cite field after field, from the simplistic relativist ethics that our social workers and juvenile criminals alike soak up from their "education," to the vulgar semi-Marxist, semi-Keynesian economics that instruct our present course towards national bankruptcy. Nowhere, however, is the gap between true scholarship and received opinion more profound than in the field of history. And nowhere, perhaps, is that separation, between men intent on the search for truth and ideologists intent only on advancing their panaceas, more fraught with danger. For our sense of identity as participants in the fate of our nation and our civilization depends upon our sense of the history of that nation and that civilization.

The Might of the West, by Lawrence R. Brown. Obolensky, $10.00

A sense of the history from which our institutions and traditions have been derived is vital at every level of the social scale, even (possibly most importantly) at levels where it is understood only in the most general terms, only "mythologically." It is just this sense of identity, however, that the prevailing "educated" historiography of our time has devoted itself to pulverizing. The vulgarity of its anti-historical history, shallow enough at its sources, becomes something close to pure drivel in the "social studies" of the schools. But at every level it substitutes sociological cant for historical insight, and relativist culture-egalitarianism for the national and civilizational pride that arise from an understanding of one's own past.

Meanwhile, over the recent decades in which this mummery has held the front of the stage, a truly tremendous feat of scholarship has created a corpus of work in the philosophy of history that is one of the outstanding intellectual achievements of Western man. The massive contributions of Spengler, Toynbee (in his early volumes, before he sold his historian's heritage for a mess of internationalist pottage), Wittfogel, Voegelin, are the most impressive part, but a part only, of this colossal scholarly endeavor embracing hundreds upon hundreds of books and monographs.

The Might of the West is the most recent of these contributions. It is also one of the most stimulating. Like Spengler and Toynbee (in his earlier phase), Lawrence Brown sees history not as a linear development of an abstract "mankind," but as the life courses of a number of discrete civilizations, such as the Egyptian, the Chinese, the Classical, the Western. Like Spengler, but unlike Toynbee, he burns with a fierce love of our own civilization. Unlike Spengler, however, he insists that the fate of the West, like that of other civilizations before it, rests in the hands of men, not in a mystic Destiny that inexorably determines its dying and its death. Much though he owes to Spengler, in fundamental concepts as in detailed interpretation, the very title of his book, *The Might of the West*, is a ringing challenge to Spengler's *Decline of the West*. The unique quality of this book arises from Mr. Brown's ability to combine an objective study of civilizations as civilizations with commitment to our own civilization.

I suppose that anyone who is deeply concerned with the problems of the interpretation of history will always have serious criticisms of anyone else who has the courage systematically to commit his understanding to the printed page. Much though I have learned from *The Might of the West*, I have nevertheless many disagreements in detail with it and one or two major criticisms of it. In the space available here I can only indicate briefly what these latter are.

In the first place, although Mr. Brown has a vision of the grandeur of the West of a kind that is missing in Toynbee and is too narrowly circumscribed in Spengler by the dogmatisms of his system, he nevertheless seems to me to give far too large

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Speaking Up . . .

Frank S. Meyer, noted author and senior editor of National Review, will accept invitations to lecture and debate in the southwest and northwest this winter.

He is equipped to discuss any number of topics, especially those ideas expressed in his latest book, *What Is Conservatism?*

Your university or club can also write for openings in the winter schedules of our other speakers: William A. Rusher, publisher of *National Review*; William F. Rickenbacker, senior editor of *National Review*; L. Brent Bozell, attorney, author and lecturer; Russell Kirk, prolific author, professor and lecturer; Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren, writer, professor of Political Science; Ernest van den Haag, psychoanalyst and professor of social philosophy; Erik Ritter von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, linguist and author; Dr. Thomas Molnar, lecturer and author of *The Failure of the Counterrevolution*; Ralph de Toledano, syndicated columnist and author of *The Winning Side.*

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Random Notes

● THE MOVIES: Samuel Selsky has conceived a complete-kit nonpareil for the Whole Liberal, a million-dollar film, to be financed by the United Nations, public health ministries "of several countries," ministries of education, departments of tourism, universities and foundations. It is *Homo Sapiens,* written by Dr. George Heuse Jr., Director General of the International Institute of Human Biology, in Paris, and is about "man's essential unity as a thinking being." Hordes of experts will be on the payroll. The proceeds will go to "a special fund to fight any form of racial prejudice," and the film, they say, for all its "scientific accuracy" will have a "professional sheen." . . . Latest flashes from Dino de Laurentiis' *The Bible:* Churches are said to be investing in it, and Peter O'Toole has been cast as an angel. John Huston is to play Moses, soon as he gets done with the filming of the confusion in the tower of Babel. Berlitz advisers on set. . . . Walt Disney's *Legend of Dick Turpin* goes before the cameras in England. . . . King Vidor rolls up his sleeves to begin a life of Cervantes . . . and Ernest Lehman prepares a *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* for the screen.

● PROGRESS NOTE: Eastern Air Lines has been talking with Associated Booking Corp. about putting entertainers on its flights to Florida. One of the problems discussed was that of "an escape for those not in a mood to be entertained." Come, come, Eastern, let's not encourage the anti-social to be set in their ways.

● BOOKS: Pocket Books is issuing six of Charles Addams' ghoul books, "to coincide with" the new telly show, "The Addams Family." *Drawn and Quartered* is just out. . . . For fans of John Dickson Carr, a new historical thriller from Harper and Row, *Most Secret* ($3.95), a costume piece from good King Charley's golden days. . . . For the Moody Press, of Chicago, James H. Thomas has "retold" Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* "in the language of today," why we know not, $3.95. . . . From Doubleday, about now, Isaac Asimov's droll and clever stories about our mechanical friends, *The Rest of the Robots* ($5.95). . . . Toward the end of the year Barnes and Noble promise an edition of William Blake's *Jerusalem,* edited by W. R. Hughes ($6). . . . If you're shopping early for handsome gift books, there's the Yale Press *Drawings from the Clark Institute* (of Williamstown, Mass.), with 342 plates, many never reproduced before, fifteen of them in color, $30 until after Christmas. . . . and Thomas Berger's first novel, inaccessible for the longest, *Crazy in Berlin,* is out in a Ballantine paperback for 75¢.

a role to the technological excellence of our civilization in his definition of its character and too small a role to what I would regard as its essential genius and the characteristic distinguishing it from all other civilizations—the centricity of the person in its world view.

THIS WEAKNESS of Mr. Brown's analysis seems to me to be closely related to two other aspects of its historical thought: his displacement of the Christian vision of man's fate as the decisive force in the forming of the Western ethos and his derogation of the influence of Classical Civilization on the West. Both this displacement and this derogation in turn arise from an element in Mr. Brown's historical view which is in itself one of the great strengths of his work. That is his view of what he calls Levantine Civilization (roughly what Spengler called the Magian Civilization), the civilization he sees arising in late Roman times, in which early Christianity developed and which gave birth to Islam. His concept of this civilization is magnificently developed; but, in my opinion, he exaggerates its influence upon the West. It is this exaggeration which causes him to see Christianity as primarily

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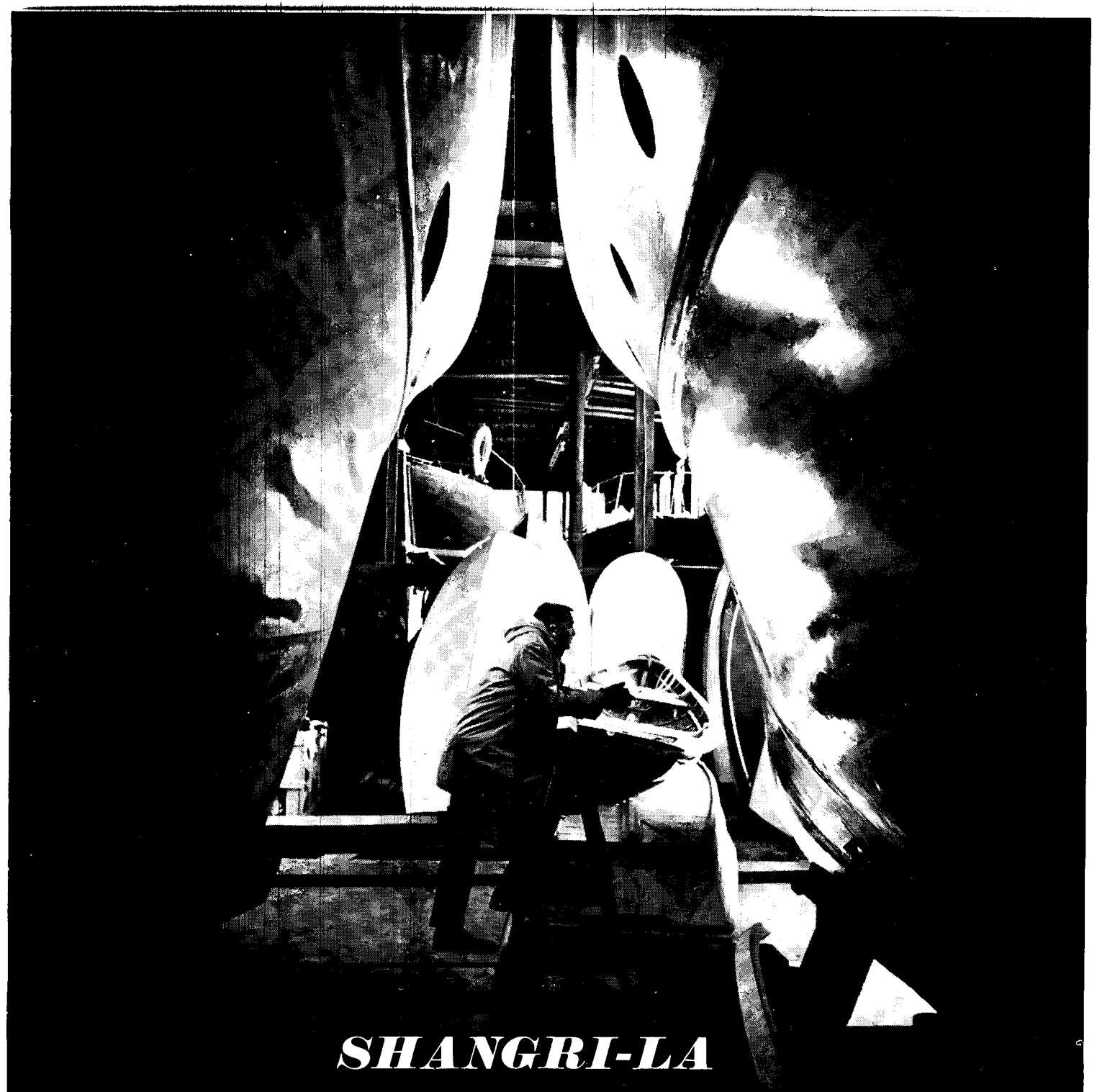

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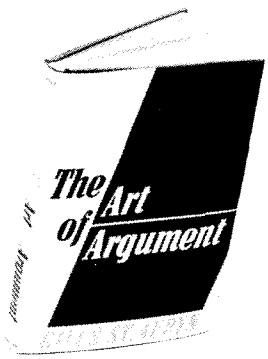

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a Levantine religion and to miss the tremendous significance of the development of Latin Christianity both for Christianity itself and as *the* forming influence of the West. It is also this which leads him to derogate the influence of Classical Civilization upon the West, since he maintains (although I think he by no means proves) that what we regard as Classical in our heritage is so distorted by transmission through Levantine Civilization that it is, in essence, not Classical but Levantine.

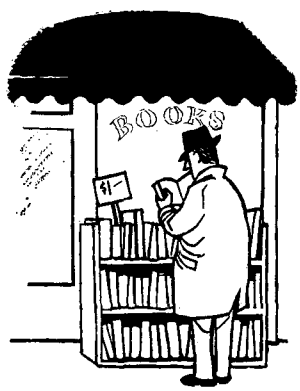
It is a mark of the power and insight of *The Might of the West* that, in spite of these weaknesses, it is a historical work of the utmost importance. Mr. Brown's searching and imaginative mind, his wide-ranging interest in all the facets of human life, give his book substance and depth. His firm commitment to Western Civilization, combined with a delicate historical sense, give it force and direction.

Fiction

Turn the Other Face

GUY DAVENPORT

Iris Murdoch, born a century earlier, would clearly have been a Pre-Raphaelite painter, and the kind of scene she is now famous for would have made her fortune. We can imagine a picture from *The Italian Girl,* her eighth and latest novel, as a large painting called *The Brothers,* where a burly sculptor, paused among the Portland marble, mallet and chisel in hand, greets his frail, sensitive brother, the engraver. And: *The Serious Talk,* uncle and niece (Wisdom and Innocence) by a garden waterfall, with many late summer flowers and a background of sturdy trees to symbolize the theme. And the final scene from the novel: *Do We Dare?* Here the engraver-uncle proposes to "the Italian girl," his childhood nurse to whom his mother, it turns out, has perversely left the estate.



The mutation is not implausible, for emotional weather is the making of a Murdoch novel as it is of a narrative picture of Holman Hunt or John Millais. All meaning radiates from enamelled, precise images. What Miss Murdoch's characters *say* is of no importance ("to suffer like an animal, that would be godlike," says the sculptor, who has no intention of suffering in any manner). What they do is so wildly literary that we take their action as poetic business for its own sake. They come out at night to watch the dance of earthworms. They sit by roaring fires in summer, to favor their loneliness. They forget breakfast engagements with each other.

A novel by Iris Murdoch is always a pleasure to read; it feeds the senses handsomely; it is a procession of skilfully displayed surprises; it is a gallery of reasonably civilized monsters who, we recognize, are but allegories of our own vices. Here is Lust; there, Sloth. If Bunyan had been a philosophy don, as Miss Murdoch was, and had been convinced that sin is far more treacherously masked than even he had thought, and if he had preferred velvet to homespun, wine to cold water, he would have written something like Miss Murdoch.

Saul Bellow's *Herzog* is also a bracing book for one's character, and is also in that modern mode of philosophical inquiry whereby the teacher confuses us utterly, poisoning everything in sight with a carefully poured blackness, and then urges us not to despair as he leaves the class-

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The Italian Girl, by Iris Murdoch. Viking, $4.50

Herzog, by Saul Bellow. Viking, $5.75

The Defense, by Vladimir Nabokov. G. P. Putnam's Sons, $5

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room. Indeed, we are left in that same garden kept tidy before this by the grim-mouthed Lemuel Gulliver and the retired Candide. This time the garden is outside Great Barrington, Mass., and cost twenty thousand dollars. Its gardener is Prof. Moses Elkanah Herzog, who carries in his pocket the Penguin *Blake* with his psychiatrist's list of the characteristics of paranoia for a bookmark. Herzog's trouble is that he was brought up on moral principles and asked to live in a world whose morals sicken him. His emotional type, he explains to himself, is archaic. He prays, "Release me, God, from this meanness," and refuses to "worship the fat gods" of our civilization.

He is, in fact, Mr. Leopold Bloom brought up to date and to New York. He is engagingly literate. His talent, however, is not for the books he wrote for the academy or for the lecture room, but in the hundreds of letters he writes but never sends. ("Dear Dr. Schrodinger, In *What Is Life?* you say that in all of nature only man hesitates to cause pain . . . Dear Gov. Stevenson . . . Dear General Eisenhower. . . .") For the voice in these letters alone the novel is worth reading; it is the voice in which we reply constantly to senators and powers and dominions, but which those remotenesses hear less than our wife, our cat, and the empty air.

Saul Bellow has written in *Herzog* his best book to date. The diffuseness of *Augie March* is here brought into focus and contained. The ritual despair of his previous work, however cuddled it has been in a warm humor, finds a counterbalance in Herzog's power to live in despair without mistaking his ineptitude for life itself. With a healthy incapacity for pain, he instinctively distrusts the self-importance of despair ("Grief, sir, is a species of idleness"), and though he has lost the good life, he has no impulse toward dramatizing the bad one he must endure.

Vladimir Nabokov's *The Defense* would scarcely be interesting if it were not by the foxiest trickster among living satirists. It belongs to his early, Russian, period; translated at this late date, it seems as quaint as a chamber pot or stereopticon. Yet the fey hand is there that wrote that *trompe d'oeil* puzzlement *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight,* the black-tempered *Camera Obscura* (sometimes called *Laughter in the Dark*), and *Lolita.* If Nabokov is not demonstrably a nihilist, he comes as close to one as we are likely to have in modern literature.

In *The Defense* an entire life is given to chess. Chess brings on madness, marriage, and suicide. Novel after novel he projects a world, crushes it to powder, and blows it away, from the palm of his hand. His characters pursue the most perishable of pleasures with energies that might reverse rivers: butterflies, chess, nymphets, nonexistent villains born of paranoia. They are themselves pursued by a Nemesis who insists that all is frivolous and ephemeral, and obligingly (with a giggle, one imagines) brings insignificance to an insignificant end.

There are no heroes in these novels, only sufferers. Mr. Bellow, in the course of his novel, quotes a cynical voice: "If they smite you, turn the other face." And Mr. Bellow's troubled assessment of such a world is worthy of Isaiah. Page 133, in fact, is as eloquently Hebraic as any of the prophets, and page 312 reproduces Isaiah's vision of the ruined Jerusalem, owls and all. What we have in these three novels in fact is a prophetic crying out against a loss of vision, some skill at living, that might have prevented all this confusion. Life in its present ineptitude, these novels say, is intolerable.

Traveling

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

THERE ARE (would you believe it?) people who actually don't enjoy travel. I even know one such person —a deeply intelligent, profoundly perceptive man, whose mind simply prefers to deal with abstractions, and who couldn't care less if the ground he is standing on happens to be the Roman Forum.

Cities, by James Morris. Harcourt, $6.95

Then there are those—a far larger number—who enjoy travel but can't afford it, or think they can't. I recognize, of course, the paramount claims of raising and educating one's children, and the solid satisfactions to be gained from living in a house that is paid for; but I cannot help suspecting that a certain amount of this frugality in the matter of travel masks only an essential timidity. Certainly the great American airlines have performed prodigies in bringing two or three weeks in London and Paris within the reach of just about anyone with a little gumption; and there are many magnificent things to see right here in North America.

But most of us don't need to be encouraged. To stroll the great cities of Europe, or inspect the totally different cultures of the Orient; to photograph, on the plains of East Africa, the last stand of the great Pleistocene fauna; to drift down the Grand Canal in a gondola and recall the millenial pageant of Venetian history—these are pleasures not lightly to be scorned. And now, for all addicted to them, James Morris has written a book that simply must not be missed.

When I read Morris' previous volume, *The World of Venice,* I noticed that he had a dismayingly easy way of bringing a lump to my throat, but I assumed this was a by-product of his supremely evocative subject-matter. Now, however, he has put together a volume of short sketches of no less than 74 of the world's great cities, and I find he can produce the same effect on me with any of them —with Rawalpindi as easily as Rio, with Cuzco as readily as Cape Town. For me, at any rate, Morris is a tremendously stirring writer.

This book represents an astonishing personal achievement. For ten years, as a wandering journalist, Morris roamed the face of the globe. These pastiches are his brief reports on the cities he visited in the process. And he writes:

> I have seen all these cities for myself, and I have seen them all within a single decade. If I had been born a generation earlier, I could scarcely have done it in a lifetime. If I had the cosmos to explore, I might not bother to try. But mine is the moment of the jets, between the steamships and the rockets, and this is how the earth's cities seemed to me, during the last of our earthbound years.

In hands less sure, this book

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Still Strictly A Family Affair

by
Julian P. Van Winkle, Jr.,
President
Old Fitzgerald Distillery
Louisville, Kentucky
Established 1849

After more than 60 years as President of our family distillery, my father, the long-time editor of these familiar columns, assumes the title of "Senior Proprietor".

As a rugged independent of the old-fashioned Kentucky Sour Mash School, he prefers this title to the customary "Chairman of the Board".

"Chairmen," he claims, "are on the last step up the ladder. *Senior Proprietors* are on the rung after that!"

Now, in a gesture both modest and generous, he hands his pen to me to acquaint you with *two* promotions, his *and* mine. After more than a quarter-century under his direction, "aged-in-the-wood and bottle-ripe", he now names me OLD FITZGERALD's President.

Traditionally, the making and aging of old-fashioned Kentucky Bourbon has always been a family enterprise—a father-to-son affair in which the family recipe, so carefully protected through the years, is preserved for the generations to come.

Thus, as one of a dwindling handful of Kentucky independents, our modest country distillery remains, now as always, "strictly a family affair."

And so committed are we to the best tradition of old-fashioned Kentucky sour mash that our OLD FITZGERALD recipe remains today as it was three fathers-and-sons ago.

With my father's pen now in hand, I assure you it will always be so. Whatever change the future may bring, there will be no compromise of famous OLD FITZGERALD quality.

In the words of our newly-appointed Senior Proprietor: "We invite you to join an Inner Circle of the Bourbon Elite who have discovered the everlasting goodness of our OLD FITZGERALD, and find it good business to share, in moderation, with associates and friends."

Kentucky Straight Bourbon
Bottled-in-Bond
at Mellow 100 Proof

could easily have become banal. The sketches are set forth in mere alphabetical order, with no attempt at more significant unities or contrasts. (Under "B" one finds Baghdad, Bangkok, Berlin, Bogotá and Brasilia—in that order.) Inevitably the author falls into the habit of saying a little something good, a little something bad, about nearly *every* city.

But that is usually only just; and how superbly well he says it! Flying from London to Amsterdam, he remarks, "is like moving directly from cocktails with a degenerate genius to tea with an ambitious bank manager." Or savor this evocation of Beirut:

> Now, before the night comes, while the evening is still purple and hazy, while the velvet twilight lasts—now you may taste the impossible beauty of Beirut: for rising in strides above the capital, in serried terraces, above the skyscrapers, above the last suburbs, above the olive groves, above the foothill villages, above the winding Damascus road—there, lording it over sea and city, stand the mountains, 'afloat in heaven's pool'. A sheen of snow hovers about their high ridges, and their tawny slopes tumble away through scree and field and olive grove to the Mediterranean below. Beneath their serenity Beirut festers and celebrates: and even as you watch, sipping your wine or toying with your fish, the lights go on like star clusters in the villages in the hills, higher and higher up the slopes, until at last the dark falls, the end of the sunset fades, and away above Beirut only the snow of the summits remains like a dim corona in the night.

Despite his conscientious effort to look on both sides of any subject, Mr. Morris has his prejudices. Happily they are the prejudices of a cultivated Englishman, and can readily be discounted. Try as he may, he cannot quite bring himself to trust the Germans. And he is bitterly harsh with South Africa (which unforgivably left the Commonwealth) concerning social practices and laws that were very much a part of the same scene when the Union Jack flew over it. But, now and again, he turns even his prejudices to account—as in an hilarious four-page description of the average Englishman's thought-processes on a short trip to Paris.

So, if you share my incorrigible weakness for travel, run—don't walk—to the nearest bookstore and buy *Cities*. It will remind you, vividly, of places you have seen; it will describe, equally vividly, places you would like to see—and perhaps one or two that you will make a careful mental note to avoid. For me, to borrow Melville's phrase, "the great floodgates of the wonder-world swung open" as I read these scintillating pages. God help me if Morris ever goes to work for a travel agency.

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

Ping Pong and Pigs

Ping Pong players depend on it; pig farmers are inspired by it; juvenile delinquents are cured by it. The all-purpose panacea: the Thought of Mao Tse-tung, or TMTT as it is known in the irreverent shorthand of Hong Kong's China-watchers, who have recently detected a new campaign to spread Mao's gospel by means of heroic example.

From a recent Newsweek story.
A glimpse of how we read these days.
Have you read Newsweek lately?

Newsweek

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The Publishing Scene

The Pamphleteers Return

M. STANTON EVANS

IF THE TREE of liberty has been watered by the blood of patriots and tyrants, it has also drawn nourishment from the ink of scribblers. Dating from Tom Paine and the Committees of Correspondence, American freedom has owed much to the private pamphleteer who tilts his pen at the machinery of established discourse. By their nature, such writers are a liberating influence; dissent is their vocation. They are beyond the pale of orthodoxy and determined to have their say against it.

It is possible, of course, to cite unsavory one-man publications which have no beneficial effect to recommend them—the normal run of crackpots who produce outside the going circuits of communication and rail at the community which denies them facilities and an audience. The pamphleteer, as here conceived, is of a different breed. He is distinguished precisely by the fact that, although deprived of normal facilities, he does succeed in finding an audience. It is the demand for his services which is striking, which testifies to the fact that orthodoxy has lost touch with its constituents. The pamphleteer fills the gap between what the Establishment thinks people ought to read and what they in fact want to read.

Just such a gap exists in America today. The communications industry, ranging from television to book publishing, is in thrall to the ideologues of the Left. With infrequent exceptions, any literary product ranging from middling Liberal to outright Marxist can find its way to the public almost instantaneously—be it a laudatory biography of Lyndon Johnson or a plea for unilateral disarmament. The bookstalls for years have groaned with the productions of the Wright Millses and James Baldwins and Fred Cooks; the book clubs press them upon their army of readers; the best-seller lists acclaim their celebrity; the commentators of press and TV hawk them strenuously.

Nor is there any penalty for false prophets. One notable literary development in recent months has been the wholesale revival of writers who twenty years ago sold the American people the notion that the Chinese Communists were a decent bunch seeking a little justice for the peasants. Edgar Snow has published yet another magnification of the Peking Reds, subject of a delirious review in *Newsweek*; Owen Lattimore has popped up again in *The Atlantic*; Theodore White, once again riding high on the best-seller lists, is offered to the nation with distressing frequency by CBS television.

While these spokesmen of the Left are pressed insistently upon the American public, conservatives find the same circuits adamantly closed against them. Almost any conservative writer can tell you a horror story involving one or another of the big commercial book publishers (this writer, for one, approaching a publisher with a book idea about the current campaign, was told: "We publish only Lyndon Johnson books"); rare is the complimentary mention of a conservative spokesman in a national magazine; rarer

the conservative who can find his way onto a national TV show. At least 90 per cent of the products of today's communications industry are oriented to the Liberal-Left, without disguise or apology. Whatever the strength of conservatism among literate Americans, it has never reached so low an ebb as this.

The result is a gap between readers and reading material—a gap which, during this election year, has been dramatically filled. This year's best-selling political books are, incredibly enough, nowhere to be found on the commercial book-lists, in *Publisher's Weekly*, or on the *New York Times* list of most-demanded books. In official circles, the smash books of 1964 don't exist; they exist only for the millions of readers who have bought them.

The books in question are *A Choice Not An Echo*, by Phyllis Schlafly; *None Dare Call It Treason*, by John Stormer; and *A Texan Looks at Lyndon*, by J. Evetts Haley. A survey at almost any book-store will reveal that these three volumes are the most frequently demanded; huge stacks of them bedeck the paperback stalls in drugstores and airports; their sales are clocked in the millions. "We sell 100 of these to every one in favor of Lyndon Johnson," says the proprietor of the largest book-store in my home city. Yet each of them was published privately, outside recognized channels of communication, and none is to be found on any certified best-seller list.

Consider the publishers of these books. *A Choice Not an Echo*, a critique of "modern" Republican control of the national GOP, is a product of the "Père Marquette Press, P.O. Box 316, Alton, Illinois." It sells for 75 cents. *None Dare Call It Treason*, an across-the-board indictment of Liberal policy at home and abroad, is published by "Liberty Bell Press, P.O. Box 32, Florissant, Missouri." It is also a 75-cent item. *A Texan Looks at Lyndon*, a Peglerian flaying of Johnson, is printed by "The Palo Duro Press, Box 390, Canyon, Texas." It goes for one dollar.

All three, in short, are broadsides in the direct tradition of those who have battled orthodoxy from an out-of-the-way printing press. Like most protest literature, they are marked by hyperbole and a rhetorical fire more suitable to partisan debate than to the framing of history. As pamphleteers, they are concerned, not to administer even-handed justice, but to bring a suppressed side of the record to light. That they do so with pungent effect is the reason for their popularity. One will find out a good deal more about "modern" Republicans from Miss Schlafly than one will, say, from Walter Lippmann; more about America's default to world Communism from Mr. Stormer than from Howard K. Smith; and more about Lyndon Johnson from Mr. Haley than from an army of authorized biographers.

The appearance of these volumes

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and their popular reception is a dramatic warning to a communications industry which has warped its product to Liberal biases. Had the commercial publishers done the job they claim to do, it is unlikely such books would have been written, and certain that, if written, they would not have found so enormous an audience. When the nation's best-sellers are produced in Alton, Ill., Florissant, Mo. and Canyon, Tex., rather than in the the giant publishing houses of New York, the evidence is good that the communications gap has reached revolutionary dimensions.

Theater

The Funny Girls

NATHAN COHEN

APPROXIMATELY every fifteen years there is a change in the tide of fashion in the American theater. Actors who stood at the height of their profession subtly fall out of favor. Dramatists who had a secure grip on the public pulse curiously lose touch. Productions of a kind hitherto surefire at the box-office fail to have the expected result. A younger generation of performers, playwrights, directors, technicians, and for that matter critics, starts pounding on the door.

Clearly the American theater is experiencing such a transition now. As is fitting enough, considering the function it has played historically in the development of a national dramatic idiom and identity, the fact of change is most to be noted in musical comedy. In 1943, Rodgers and Hammerstein ushered in a new era with *Oklahoma!*, distinguished by its integrated character—the production numbers, the songs and dances, flowed naturally from the narrative, instead of being interpolated at random—and buoyantly sentimental idealism.

It was an era of many innovations and more successes, of *Guys and Dolls* and *Brigadoon*, of *Wonderful Town* and *Most Happy Fella* and *Kiss Me Kate*, of, most satisfying of all, *The King and I* and *My Fair Lady*. It was an era so productive that people who should have known better began to speak of musical comedy as a high form of art, ready to take on important new dimensions. Such hopes were disappointed. Brilliantly as *West Side Story* was conceived, for example, with the dancing superseding even the singing as the main instrument of vocabulary, it led away from the musical ballet and spawned no heirs.

By the late 1950s, decay was visible. Rodgers and Hammerstein were their own best parodists with *The Flower Drum Song* and *South Pacific*. Composers, librettists and choreographers, as well as feeding on themselves, were feeding on one another, and floundered in the throes of an indulgent, necessarily shallow self-satire (*How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying*). There is no doubt that the formulas and techniques which worked so well in the

1940s and 1950s are spent. They no longer suffice, and the new shape of the musical has become uncertain.

We can discern, nevertheless, some of its components. The most interesting is the return of the *farceur*—the personality clown. Vital as it was, the Rodgers and Hammerstein musical, whatever its ramifications, subtracted nearly as much from the form as it contributed. The chief casualty was humor.

If you examine the American musical of the 1920s and 1930s you find that, next to the composer, always pre-eminent, its chief glory was the comic: Will Rogers, twirling his lariat and muttering wry jokes; W. C. Fields wrestling with a trick billiard table and gargling imprecations; the Marx Brothers unleashing bolts of chaos on high society; fire chief Ed Wynn venting his high-pitched giggle; Bobby Clark leering wickedly behind painted glasses; Bert Lahr ogling the girls and sounding his inimitable croak of frustration; a fluttering Victor Moore trying to catch someone's, anyone's attention; bandy-legged Leon Erroll trying to regain his equilibrium; and scores of others, each with his personal trademark, each bent on giving the audience a thoroughly good time.

All that ended with *Oklahoma!* In a theater essentially dedicated to sentiment and whimsy, the fool was an outsider. There was room for comedy of situation, for wit of line and song and sometimes score, but the clown no longer belonged. Except for Phil Silvers, not a single male jester appeared. When such candidates for popularity came along as Eddie Foy Jr. (*The Pajama Game*) and Ray Walston (*Damn Yankees*) they could not be accommodated.

The clown then is on his way back, but whether he will have his previous prominence is moot. The integrated "book" (plot) and the emphasis on choreography have brought about too many transformations in the body of the musical to make a return to the pre-World War II style possible, let alone desirable. What is more pertinent is that the clown of the emerging musical goes by the name of Punchinella rather than Harlequin and wears a skirt instead of trousers.

Funny men—Zero Mostel anachronistically aside—are out. Funny girls are on their way in. There have always been comédiennes on the musical comedy stage: Fanny Brice for one, Beatrice Lillie for another, Nancy Walker for a third. But they were always few, and with the eclipse they were the first blotted from view. Well before her death, Miss Brice had left the stage for films and radio. While Miss Walker persevered with one revue after another (a series of misfortunes relieved only by *Do Re Mi*), Miss Lillie vainly explored concert programs and straight drama. Her nadir occurred when, directly miscast, she starred in a London production of *Auntie Mame*.

The first signs of the new trend came with Rosalind Russell in *Wonderful Town* and Gwen Verdon in *Damn Yankees*. It was strengthened

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by Lucille Ball's triumph in *Wildcat*, a triumph all the more remarkable because that show, like the TV programs which made her a household name, allowed Miss Ball to use just a small fraction of her capacious gifts.

Today the female clowns are on the ascent. The two most popular attractions on Broadway at this moment of writing, *Hello Dolly* and *Funny Girl*, are both vehicles for women. Carol Channing, bewitchingly larger than life, intoxicatingly *en rapport* with her audience, is the colossus who bestrides *Dolly*. Barbra Streisand, tensely self-deprecating, is the field force from which all energy issues in *Funny Girl*. Nor are they alone. Only the presence of Tammy Grimes and the aforementioned Miss Lillie explains the durability of *High Spirits*. Carol Burnett, loose-limbed and devotedly playful, and thoroughly underrated by the critics, is the axis on which the amusement rotates in *Fade Out, Fade In*.

The shows have their male jesters too but, like the *premier danseur* in classical ballet, they exist to call attention to the greater luster of the ladies. Any individual distinction a David Burns achieves in *Hello Dolly* or a Lou Jacobi in *Fade Out, Fade In* is purely bonus.

The point to be made about these musicals is that musically they are undistinguished, with little imagination in the way of plot or choreography. Only *Dolly* possesses that shiny physical fluency, that unity of theatrical effect, which characterizes Broadway professionalism at its best. The others grope and sweat.

As showcases for their leading players, however, they serve their purpose. And as auguries of what is happening to musical comedy on Broadway, they have an importance beyond their specific entertainment value. The new fashion in American musicals has yet to spell itself out, but there is no doubt that when it emerges the funny girls will be close to its heart, perhaps the very core of its inspiration.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE NEW EUROPE AND ITS ECONOMIC FUTURE, by Arnold B. Barach (Macmillan, $1.95). This Twentieth Century Fund paperback survey is primarily an updating of the Fund's previous study, "Europe's Needs and Resources," published in 1961. With a plethora of facts, figures, bar graphs and comparisons between the Europe of today and the Europe of the late 1950s and the 1970s, the actual and predicted dramatic rise in consumption, production, and investment is forcefully brought home. While the serious economist may shy away from the study's journalistic slant, speech writers will rejoice in the multitude of convenient predictions. The picture painted is surprisingly consistent for almost all of the 18 countries (from Greece to Iceland) covered: sharply higher per capita incomes, a decreasing percentage of people employed in agriculture, a greatly increased demand for services, and a growing dependency on imports to cover such key items as coal and oil, meat, and fibers.

J. B. BENDER

LYNDON'S LEGACY, by Frank Kluckhohn (Devin-Adair, $4.95; Monarch paperback, 75¢). Who are the men in charge of America's policies abroad? Behind the bland façade thrown up by Lyndon Johnson there swarms, in Senator Goldwater's sardonic phrase, a most "curious crew" indeed. Frank Kluckhohn gives the details in vivid plain-talking style, examining the actions and opinions of such Johnson subordinates as Dean Rusk, Walt W. Rostow, Robert McNamara, Adam Yarmolinsky, Jerome Wiesner, Paul Nitze, McGeorge Bundy, George Ball, *et al.* The pattern emerging from these character studies is as alarming as it is consistent: commitment to the notion that Moscow is "mellowing," that we can and should do business with the Communist enemy, that "accommodation" and soothing phrases can conjure away the grinding realities of the Cold War. If anyone doubts that America is losing the struggle for the world, or is confused as to why she is losing, this book should make things uncomfortably clear.

M. S. EVANS

FREEDOM AND THE POLITICIANS, by Anthony Lejeune (British Book Centre, $1.50). Britain, though it has a Conservative Party, has almost no principled conservative movement in the contemporary American sense. One of the small band of Englishmen who think in such principled conservative terms is Anthony Lejeune, well known to readers of NATIONAL REVIEW for his reports from London and his book reviews. While *Freedom and the Politicians* is in some part a case for supporting the Conservative Party against the Labour Party, Mr. Lejeune freely admits that that party is a long way from practising truly conservative principles. Primarily, the book is an excellent brief outline of the policy such principles would call for in England. His electoral espousal of the Conservative Party is based on the undeniable fact that, whatever the weaknesses of the Conservative Party, the Labourites are firm and open enemies of these principles.

F. S. MEYER

THE DEMOCRAT'S DILEMMA, by Philip M. Crane (Regnery, $4.95). A history professor's study of American Fabianism, from its British antecedents to its controlling interest, today, in the Democratic Party. The "dilemma," by implication, is that of the Jeffersonian Democrat, unwilling to desert his party, but promised a grim struggle for power if he remains in it to contest its socialist direction. I can recall no similar treatment remotely so fair or comprehensive as Dr. Crane's. He may, however, by such careful documentation, have posed a dilemma of readership. For here, faithfully objective, never hortatory, is a study that may prove too exhaustive for a general audience, too calm for the politically lascivious, and yet too familiar to the serious student of socialism who presumably will have approached the various Fabian fountainheads—the ISS, the LID, the ADA, COPE—from other quarters. Nevertheless, on its merits this work is suitable for both the broad and the select readership and, happily, it is assembled in such a way as to make reference simple. The chapters on organized labor are especially good.

T. J. WHEELER

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MISCELLANEOUS

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TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 936)

bassador John G. Winant in London refused to try to pin down the Soviets on American access rights to Berlin because he did not want to jeopardize his close personal relationship with Soviet Ambassador Gusev.

Walter Bedell Smith reports in *My Three Years in Moscow* an incident that reveals this same curious aspect of the American diplomatic mind, perhaps in sharper relief than he realized. Writes Smith:

"The Communist Party operates on the theory that every foreign representative is acting solely in the interest of his own government, and that whatever he does may be explained by this fact. If he does a kind or obliging act, it is because he finds it in the selfish interest of his government to do so. . . .

"These characteristics explain why my own initial callow but honest offers to present sympathetically to my government the official Soviet viewpoint on difficult questions were coldly received by the Russians. They also explain the only plaintive note I ever heard from General Marshall who wired me from China that on an important question of Japanese repatriation he had received no reply to his repeated inquiries directed to the Soviet Ambassador, Petrov, 'in spite of having loaned him a jeep.'"

Milwaukee, Wis. DAVID KEYSER

Amazing But True

Looking over the article "Religion in the Soviet Union" [Oct. 6], I became interested in religious affairs in Russia. After reading Russian propaganda about her being liberal in religious matters, it is amazing to realize that Russia is actually increasing religious intolerance.

Belleville, Ill. ALBERT SADOWSKI

Motley

In his book *McCarthy and His Enemies* Mr. Buckley castigated the Liberals, and rightly so, for their hysterical denunciations and name-calling.

Yet in the Sept. 22 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW he calls the supporters of California's Proposition 15 "a motley group" who have "bamboozled a gaggle of undisciplined, social-minded exhibitionists. . . ." It is an "extraordinary group of licentious busybodies." Is this consistent? Or

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can we call names and they can't?

Besides, that "motley group" includes the California Federation of Women's Clubs, the AFL-CIO, the National Association of Broadcasters, the California State Electronics Association, and—note this—Assemblyman Pearce Young, who introduced the pay-TV amendment in the first place.

That doesn't seem motley to me.

San Diego, Cal. EDWIN BERTON

Couldn't be motlier if it tried.—ED.

The TV Code

Re: "All Quiet on Channel 7" [Sept. 22]. I quote from the September 17 advertising column of the *New York Times*:

" 'While it is true that the N[ational] A[ssociation of] B[roadcasters] television code contains provisions with respect to taste in advertising, we have never considered the application of these principles to political announcements.' "

This gem is contained in a letter to Senator Dirksen from Vincent T. Wasilewski, Executive Vice President of the NAB, replying to criticism Senator Dirksen had made of a sixty-second commercial produced by the Democratic National Committee in which it is made to appear that if Goldwater is elected, daisy-plucking blonde moppets will be vaporized by nuclear war.

The NAB code bars tire companies from showing blowouts and accidents with even the whiff of an implication that such things are the result of not using their products. In the name of good taste it bars the showing of cleansers entering toilet bowls and ladies applying electric shavers to their legs. But this same code is powerless when it comes to barring the grossest scurrility against a Presidential candidate.

New York, N.Y. NAME WITHHELD

Positively Ripping

Last spring, in the faculty lounge here at the University of Western Ontario, copies of NATIONAL REVIEW had a life expectancy of twenty-four hours at most. Tables in the lounge were littered repeatedly with the ripped and shredded remains of NATIONAL REVIEW. A colleague of mine overheard remarks which indicated that more than one faculty member approved of this vandalism.

This term NATIONAL REVIEW is again available in our lounge, but yesterday I found that the Ripper had been at work once more—a copy of NATIONAL REVIEW *Bulletin* had been methodically torn to pieces. Here is another practical application of a basic "liberal" principle—toleration of *all* (collectivist) ideas.

London, Canada K. H. W. HILBORN

Where to Now?

An English graduate and expatriate, I recently fled my native land after fighting a desperate, outnumbered three-year campaign as an undergrad against progressives, Liberals, fellow travelers, long-haired Kremlin-lovers and paid-up members of the Bertrand Russell Fan Club, otherwise known as the Campaign for Soviet Nuclear Armament. I came here hoping to find some sanity and like minds and find them only in NATIONAL REVIEW. Has this creeping *à la mode* progressive paralysis gripped America, too? Where can I go now? If Russophilia has infected the U.S. too, there really is no hope, no hope at all.

Baltimore, Md. DAVID HEALD

Blacklisted

It was really heart-lifting news to learn from NATIONAL REVIEW that the *Worker* put me on the Communist blacklist in its Sept. 22 issue.

I was put on a blacklist in 1944 by the Nazis in my native Hungary, in 1947 and 1956 by different Communist so-called governments and now I have the honor and pleasure to be counted personally as "Barry's friend" and an arch-enemy by American totalitarianists. Can you still say that a political refugee and a naturalized citizen cannot be very successful in a relatively short time in his adopted country?

South Orange, N.J. ANDRAS H. POGANY
Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation

Thanks, Pard

Being one of the "so-called 'Liberals' " whom you are constantly (and not altogether unfairly) attacking, I am unable to find myself in agreement with much of anything appearing in your magazine. But you give the lie to the dangerous (and widely held) delusion that all conservatives are addlepated in their thinking and inarticulate in their expression.

I strongly doubt that you shall ever sell me your viewpoint, but I urge you to keep your excellent exposition of it.

Bayside, N.Y. ARTHUR P. BRUDER

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

Cajole and Cozen

He was not all rawhide. Almost from the start, Mr. Johnson demonstrated that his political antennas are as delicate and sensitive as a safecracker's fingertips. And he could cajole and cozen, smile beatifically, reward and punish with rare and effective skill.

Still the homespun image persisted, and it kept pace with Senator Johnson's ever-growing reputation as the most masterful wheeler-dealer in U.S. political history. He became, to his enemies at least, a kind of bucolic Rasputin, a Richelieu in Levi's.

From a recent Newsweek story.
A glimpse of how we read these days.
Have you read Newsweek lately?

Newsweek

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS

A. Understood only by Standard Oil inner circle.

B. Head of important committee (full name).

C. I shall be -- than snow (Psalm 51:7).

D. A continental glacier (2 wds.).

E. City and county borough, England.

F. A stench.

G. He was named to Supreme Court by man he succeeded as Chief Justice (full name).

H. Poem in wild irregular strain.

I. Physicist who was Lyndon Johnson's guest, 1963.

J. Dodger outfielder long ago.

K. Member of ascetic Jewish group.

L. Slip of the pen (2 Latin wds.).

M. A native of one-time Baltic nation.

WORDS

50 35 153 7 77 192 39 161

36 8 21 29 63 52 152 195 81

97 189 196 23 30 9

108 53 82 46 24 127 134 31

113 205 69 177 32 104 1 47 64 10

140 55 181 85 12 48 93 168

65 49 56 40 3 137 180 190 159 34

107 70 182 200

89 145 94 162 178 57 79 154 72

112 186 197 59 13 164 41 160 206 105

83

158 184 109 15 42

25 95 110 155 60 165

54 86 191 146 142 187 33 128 120 135

202 16

76 37 80 84

DEFINITIONS

N. A dessert (2 wds.).

O. Gradual wearing away.

P. He led dog's life in Hollywood.

Q. Official in bankruptcy court.

R. Irish poet and dramatist.

S. Wiley Post's partner in air circumnavigation.

T. Wall Street Journal writer.

U. Inhabitant of northern Norway & Sweden.

V. The Morse Code (3 wds.).

W. Make of typewriter.

X. Tremulous.

Y. A rayon fabric.

Z. A large Australian bird.

AA. Type of borough.

WORDS

170 147 17 185 68 198 203 61 98

176 111 115 106 193 138 67 43 87

183 116 129 163 139 150 169 179 172

27 62 157 122 174 141 144

149 124 88 131 18

58 90 166 173 201

132 188 204 167 125

199 96 44 91

121 73 92 38 114 194 130 4 171 99

20 175 148

5 100 117 151 126 74 156 136 66

11 143 133 102 118

19 6 26 123 103 75 119

71 101 45

78 2 14 22 28 51

See page 972 for solution of last issue's Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out, it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black squares indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

				1 E	2 AA	3 G	4 V	5 W	6 Y	7 A	8 B	9 C		10 E	11 X	12 F
13 I	14AA	15 J	16 L	17 N	18 R		19 Y	20 V	21 B	22 AA		23 C	24 D	25 K		26 Y
27 Q	28AA	29 B	30 C	31 D	32 E	33 L		34 G		35 A		36 B	37 M	38 V	39 A	40 G
41 I		42 J	43 O		44 U	45 Z	46 D	47 E		48 F	49 G	50 A		51AA	52 B	53 D
54 L	55 F	56 G	57 H		58 S	59 I	60 K	61 N	62 Q		63 B	64 E	65 C	66 W		67 O
68 N		69 E	70 G	71 Z		72 H	73 V	74 W	75 Y	76 M	77 A		78AA	79 H	80 M	81 B
82 D	83 I		84 M	85 F	86 L	87 O		88 R	89 H	90 S	91 U	92 V		93 F	94 H	95 K
	96 U	97 C	98 N	99 V	100W	101Z	102X		103Y	104E	105I	106O	107G	108D	109J	110K
	111O	112I		113E	114V	115O	116P	117W	118X	119Y	120L		121V	122Q	123Y	124R
125T	126W	127D		128L	129P	130V		131R	132T		133X	134D	135L	136W	137G	138O
139 P	140F	141Q		142L	143X	144Q		145H	146L		147N		148V	149R	150P	151W
152B	153A	154H	155K		156W	157Q		158J	159G	160I	161A	162H		163P	164H	165K
	166S	167T	168F	169P		170N	171V	172P		173S	174Q	175V	176O	177E	178H	
179 P	180G		181F	182G	183P	184J	185N	186I	187L		188T	189C	190G		191L	192A
193 O	194V	195B	196C	197I	198N	199U		200G	201S	202L	203N	204T	205E	206I		

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For The Record

Election tidbits: Around some of the TV networks knives are being sharpened for TV and movie performers and stars who have actively campaigned for Goldwater (yes, Virginia, there are quite a few who have). Move originating mostly with the TV writers. . . . Also planning a hard time for their colleagues, a group of gung-ho Liberal Democratic congressmen who hope to reorganize the House in January mittout benefit of pro-Barry Southern Democrats. . . . Still going strong in Texas, young George Bush, running against incumbent Liberal Sen. Ralph Yarborough. . . . Gov. Connally, incidentally, continues to run ahead of Lyndon Johnson in Texas polls. . . . In Michigan, prolonged Detroit newspaper strike hurting Democratic gubernatorial contender Neil Staebler. Staebler, much less known than his rival, Gov. George Romney, finding out that TV and radio spots do not replace daily news coverage. . . . Bumper sticker of the week: "Drive Carefully. The Life You Save May Vote for Goldwater."

Errumph: Postmaster General John Gronouski (well it is a political post, isn't it?) knows his place. He has just put out a stamp commemorating Social Security with the motto: "For the People. By the People." . . . Congressman Gross (R., Iowa) charges Gronouski also has ordered postmasters throughout the country to hang 3 x 5 foot pictures of LBJ and J. Gronouski, at estimated cost of $500,000. . . . The General Services Administration (the government's supply house) has just issued 40,000 photo-portraits of Johnson for use in government buildings.

Those two controversial Democratic TV breaks (little girl picking daisies as A-bomb goes off; little girl licking strontium-90 icecream cone) have been retired after being dubbed "distasteful" by Charles Taft's Fair Campaign Practices Committee. . . . Actor Sterling Hayden will do anything for the cause. He has shaved off cherished year-old beard to play part of a John Bircher in first Xerox TV show on the United Nations. Director Joe Mankiewicz insists no Bircher "would be caught dead with a beard."

It may come as a surprise to some of his ADA colleagues, but Hubert Humphrey in Atlanta Oct. 4 (non-ADA territory) described the ADA as an organization "formed to chase Communists out of Liberal groups." . . . As expected, the Richmond News Leader came out last week for Goldwater because "in our heart we know he's right. And of greater importance, in our head we know he's right."

While Robert Kennedy still leads Kenneth Keating in New York public opinion polls, the pros feel this can be changed. Kennedy, who muffed two appearances over national TV the weekend of Oct. 18 when hard pressed by newsmen, could, say New York experts, take a decisive beating on the Kennedy-Keating TV debate now in the planning stage.

Punch—Ben Roth Agency

"This bit . . . 'sticks and stones may break my bones but names will never hurt me' . . . are you sure it's an old Russian saying and not an old Chinese proverb?"

Going the rounds of all circles, the following Walter Jenkins jokes:
(1)
(2)
(3)

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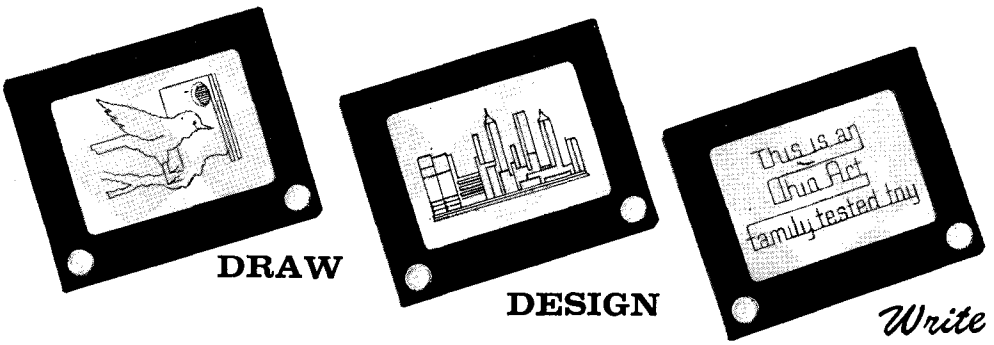

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